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SANSKRIT BUDDHISM  
IN BURMA.

DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR IN LETTERS AND PHILOSOPHY  
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN  
DECEMBER 10, 1928

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# SANSKRIT BUDDHISM IN BURMA

BY

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1912

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PUBLISHED BY THE  
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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To  
Dr. HIMALA CHANDRA LAIT  
M. A., B. L., Ph. D.  
as a token of  
admiration and gratitude.



## PREFACE

This monograph, like my earlier one on *Prehistorical Gods in Burma* (Calcutta University, 1926), attempts to explain one of the many aspects of the culture-complex of early Indo-Burmesehistory, at the same time it seeks to initiate another chapter in the history of the expansion of Indian religions and culture outside India's natural geographical boundaries. It was originally conceived as a part of a more comprehensive work on the *History of Buddhism in Burma from its earliest times to the British conquest*\*, mainly from the historical point of view, but the importance of the subject, as subsequently it appeared to me, justified an independent treatment, and when Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Archaeology in the University of Leiden, approved of my choice, I decided to present it as a dissertation for the Degree of Doctor in Letters and Philosophy of the University of Leiden which with the now well-known Kern Institute as an adjunct has developed into an important centre of Oriental study and research. The following pages embody the results of my researches on the particular subject.

The title of the dissertation, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, requires a word of explanation. Mahayana Buddhism in Burma was not of the question, as my researches led me to infer that the Theravādhika was also at one time prevalent in Burma, as also Tantrayāna and Vajrayāna. The choice by therefore between adopting either *Northern Buddhism* . . . or *Sanskrit Buddhism* . . . (or *Northern Buddhism* in an expression to which exception has often rightly been taken by scholars, I adopted the latter, to indicate nothing more than those forms of Buddhism whose canons are supposed to have been written and preserved in Sanskrit. It is just a convenient title, and nothing more.

\* This is now ready for publication.

The subject of this dissertation is but little known, and very little has as yet been done to elucidate the vague general ideas that exist to-day amongst scholars about it. The most important contribution was made by H. Charles Dershowitz in his admirable article on "The Art of Burma and Tibetan Buddhism" in the *Am. S. A. S. J.*, 1922-23, but his work has not yet been followed up except in some essays and stray notices in the *J. B. R. S.*, the *Am. S. A. S. J.*, and the *Am. S. A. S. B.* which have been referred to as their proper places in the body of this monograph. No apology is therefore needed, I hope, when I venture to present the subject in the form of a short treatise, but it must be considered as nothing more than a beginning in the study of a subject which requires further elucidation, and I am almost certain that further archaeological research especially with regard to the wall-paintings of Pagan from their iconographic standpoint, and the examination of the contents of old monastic libraries in Upper Burma, will add to our knowledge of the subject.

The materials used in preparing this monograph are mostly archaeological, but it will be seen that I have also drawn from literary sources, but only so far as they are substantiated by archaeological evidence so as to cover all relevant inscriptions, sculptures, paintings and monuments known up to date from Burma. While a fair number of these have already been published in the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India and Burma, there has been incorporated information from a large number of sources that are here brought to light for the first time. Apart from new materials that are now made known, there will be found many instances where new interpretations of old materials have been put forward. Thus, I have been led to enter the prevalence of the *śaśvatavān* in Old Burma, the definite existence of Nubhytan and Tanaite leads in the monastic libraries of Upper Burma, and of Bharata's iconographic representations of gods and goddesses belonging to the Nubhytae and its allied peoples. I have also been able, I hope, to establish the identity of the *Somayajitakāra* with the *Āra*, both denoted as *Īśvaradeva* gods, to indicate the time when and place whence the Nubhytae and allied tribes penetrated Burma, and the fact of their existence for a long time even after the glorious subjugation of Anawrahta in 1057-1061 A. D. I have also given sufficient substantions of the part played by the followers

of these idols, whose number must have been considerable at one time in the religious life of Upper Burma. Some of the identifications of gods and goddesses may be held as doubtful — the identification made and attributed in a number of instances are either absent or indistinct —, but the major conclusions based on them and on other materials, equally important, are expected to endure. These conclusions have been summarised in the final chapter.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is my most pleasant duty to record here my deepest feeling of regard and gratitude to Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel who as my promoter took pains to go through the entire manuscript with scrupulous care, suggesting improvements, and always favouring me with his wide knowledge and experience. He did much more than this: he threw the doors of the Kern Institute open to me for my studies; he did all that he could to make my five months' stay in Leiden profitable, and, most of all, it was through his kind efforts and by virtue of his recommendations that the Ministry of Education of the Government of Netherlands gave me special leave to go in for the highest academic distinction of the University of Leiden in so short a time. To him, and also to Mrs. Vogel, I take this opportunity to offer my sincere thanks and gratitude.

I owe my stay in Europe for about a year and a half to the kind and affectionate patronage of Mr. Gyanagrand Mookerjee M.A., B.L., Barrister-at-Law, who as Vice-Chancellor, and President of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts, University of Calcutta, made it possible for me to enjoy special study leave privilege that enabled, among other things, the prosecution of this humble work. Even in the midst of his heavy duties he has always tried to keep himself in touch with the work I have been doing in Burma, his words of encouragement and his affectionate concern for success in my endeavours have been a source of strength and inspiration to me. My feeling of regard, loyalty and gratitude towards him are too deep his words, and I cannot do more than merely record my indebtedness to him.

This monograph owes its publication in its present form to the generosity of Dr. Binoda Chara Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., who is

widely known in India and Europe for his valuable contributions to the study of Pāli literature and Buddhism as well as for his kind patronage of scholarship. To him I dedicate this humble piece of work as a token of admiration and gratitude.

It is my duty and pleasure to thank my friend Mrs. Jerry Blinn for kindly preparing the Index.

I must also acknowledge the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of Burma in kindly extending me permission to publish the illustrations that accompany this monograph.

The book had to be hurried through the press in three weeks which has led to a few printing errors for which I crave the indulgence of readers, but none of them, it is hoped, is of any great consequence. An errata has been supplied at the end.

Kern Institute, London

December 12, 1935

NIHARANJAN RAY





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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A.O.</i>	<i>Archaeologia</i> (London)
<i>An. B.A.S.P.</i>	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Burma (Rangoon)
<i>An. B.A.S.I.</i>	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (Calcutta and Delhi)
<i>B.E.P.E.O.</i>	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi)
<i>Cal. Rev.</i>	The Calcutta Review (Calcutta)
<i>Ep. Surv.</i>	Epigraphic Survivals (Rangoon)
<i>Ep. Ind.</i>	Epigraphic India (Calcutta and Delhi)
<i>Ind. Ant.</i>	Indian Antiquary (Bombay)
<i>Ind. Hist. Quart.</i>	The Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta)
<i>J.A.</i>	Journal Asiatique (Paris)
<i>J.A.S.B.</i>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta)
<i>J.B.S.</i>	Journal of the Burma Research Society (Rangoon)
<i>J.I.S.O.I.</i>	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts (Calcutta)
<i>P.T.S.</i>	Pall Text Society (London)

Other abbreviations are easily intelligible



## INTRODUCTION

As seen on the map of Asia, Burma looks as if it were an out-  
stretched hand of the Indian continent rather than a part of the  
South-East-Asian countries bordering the Indian Ocean, which  
collectively we know as Further India. Indeed, ethnologically and  
linguistically, and also geographically, Burma is more a component  
part of the whole area now covered by Burma, Siam, Indo-China  
and the Malay Peninsula, than of India proper to whose cultural  
influence she has the rest of the countries of Indo-China, submitted  
herself for centuries. But notwithstanding that strong cultural  
domination by India, mainly exerted through the all-pervading  
faith of Theravāda Buddhism, Burma maintained from the very  
beginning of her history a distinct political, social, and even cultural  
character. Unlike Ceylon, Burma hardly ever merged herself into  
the currents and cross-currents of Indian historical and cultural  
evolution, and it is only with the French conquest and consequent  
unification of Burma with the Indian empire, evidently for adminis-  
trative convenience, that the country came within the domain of  
present Indian life and politics. Otherwise, there is no historical  
reason why Burma should be considered, as it is so often done, as  
a part of India. Her history runs a parallel course, so far as relations  
with India are concerned, with that of the other countries of Further  
India, and the islands of the Malay Archipelago, collectively known  
to historians as Indochina. The Indo-Burmeses chapter of the history  
of Burma can be understood in its proper perspective and real  
significance only when we take this vital historical fact into account.  
It is also a key to a better understanding of the history of Indian  
cultural influence in Burma.

WIRIA PONSOMMETH AND SUTTORNSHAY THE INDIAN SCHOOL.

Like Siam, Burma till to-day is professedly Buddhist, following  
the Pāli form of the Southern School. Neither size in the countries

and influence was ever in Indian cultural enterprise in Indochina to-day a living and regulating factor of any importance<sup>1</sup>, and nowhere in Indian tradition deeper significance, or wielded a stronger influence in the socio-political life of the people than Buddhism does in Burma. Indeed, Burma owes her spiritual and cultural existence to the unifying appeal of Theravāda Buddhism which has remained the chief factor in the life and character of the average Burmese as of the entire Burmese nation.

The story of the introduction of Buddhism in Pagan or Upper Burma, repeated again and again in Pāli and Burmese chronicles and Sanskrit inscriptions of Burma<sup>2</sup>, is much too well-known to need any description here. Suffice it to say that it was introduced from Thibet, the Taining capital of Lower Burma, known in ancient days as Samaliddhava, the land for ever of the Taining, while Upper Burma was known as Mraungmyā, the land for ever of the Burmese. This historic event took place in the third quarter of the eleventh century of the Christian era, in 1025, or, perhaps, 1027, to be more exact, when Pagan was first rising to importance.

At the end of a long reign Tharun ceased to be a royal captain, and Anantadatta (1044—1055), the victorious king of Pagan, returned to his capital with the most valuable treasures of the faith, nearly the entire host of monks, and with three thirty-two white elephants, each laden with scriptures and relics, all belonging to Mraukha, the Taining king of Tharun. The king was captured and Manala kept for the rest of his life a captive at Myingagan, a retirement village near Pagan, while his imperial treasury was housed in the Sālagatāh (Tripitaka library), the library building standing to this day not very far from the famous Ananda Temple. The host of captive monks were released and pushed into the service of propagating the religion of Sākyamuni for and wife in the realm of the new dynasty

<sup>1</sup> Except perhaps in Siam where Zoroastrianism wielded a strong influence even to-day, and where one can also detect some faint traces of Buddhism.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the *Mahavamsa*, the *Manavaṃsa*, the most important Burmese chronicles, and the long Kāyāhīnī inscriptions of King Dharmapala of Pagan (Ep. Ind. III, 2).

See also my *Archaeological Guide to Burma*, Columbia University, 1924, pp. 10—11. Also my forthcoming volume on *History of Buddhism in Burma*, Chap. I (ready for the press).

of kings. Thus, once again the superior culture of the vanquished predominated over that of the victors, and the Southern Buddhism of Lower Burma gradually spread throughout Upper Burma till it embraced, after various vicissitudes of fortune, the whole country under one religious organisation. From the eleventh century onwards, Burma has never wavered from her faith in Buddhism.

The question now will naturally be asked, When did Thais receive the faith of Theravāda Buddhism, or more correctly speaking, the Hinayāna form of Buddhism? Are we to accept the tradition, so insistent in Burmese records, of the Aśoka missions of Asoka and Uṣāra to Serravastīka? Shall we also believe the later tradition, equally vocal in Burmese chronicles, of Buddhaghosa's crossing over to Burma and penetrating there the religion of the Master?

Available evidence is so meagre that none of these questions can be answered satisfactorily. Recent criticism has thrown doubt on both traditions<sup>1</sup>, referred to above, though evidence is daily accumulating in favour of an early introduction of Buddhism to Burma.

All that can be asserted with certainty at this stage of historical research is that the introduction of the faith must have taken place not later than the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, but the exact circumstances are unknown. The earliest epigraphic records found in Burma, but not from Thais, but from the small village of Hinawra, six miles north of the modern town of Pyaw. The village which is scattered over with ancient remains has been identified with the old capital city of the Pyus, the Pyaw of the Chinese, indeed it was the heart of the country known to the Chinese as Shih-kueh-ta-ta and to the Burmese as Tshirāthāra (Sanskrit: Śālistamb).

The inscriptions referred to consist of two gold plates discovered at Managga<sup>2</sup>, a small village close to Hinawra, three fragments of a stone inscription<sup>3</sup> found while clearing some debris round the base of the Dewaberg, Pyaw in Sanskrit proper, a line of inscription

<sup>1</sup> See also, "Buddhaghosa", *Ind. Ant.*, XII, 1913, p. 102 Smith, "Aśoka's alleged mission to Pyaw", *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIV, 1905, Madhavadas. Buddhism as a religion, p. 43. Fausl, "The Legend of Buddhaghosa", *Col. Rev.*, 1912, pp. 57-62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, V, pp. 102 ff. Fausl, "On ancient documents and traditions in Burma", *J. A. S. Ind.*, 1910, p. 102 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, *Ind. J. A. S. Ind.*, 1910, p. 102.

around the rim of the lid of a small silver casket, also discovered at Haveras<sup>1</sup>, a book of twenty leaves of palm-leaf inscribed on one side in the manner of the old palm-leaf manuscripts of India, placed within two covers of the same metal<sup>2</sup>, and an attached gold leaf from the Kynphawa village, also near Haveras<sup>3</sup>. The language of these inscriptions is Pli, and, what is more significant, they are all written in a character which is closely akin to the Khuddi-Telugu script of Döder but which Finst prefers to call Kadamba. Paleographically, these epigraphic records cannot be dated far out of the 5<sup>th</sup> century of the Christian era if not earlier. But the most interesting fact is that all these records contain extracts from well-known Pli texts like the *Polhaya* and the *Alphawa Nidya*, and one of them, the gold-leaf book, contains, among other things, the *Palwa* manuscript *śāstra*, viz., the *śāstra*-text with its *śāstra* but without the *śāstra*<sup>4</sup>.

The extracts, however, are not quoted verbatim. The evident conclusion to be drawn from these records is that Pli Buddhism was already an established religion at least as early as the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century, that Pli Buddhism as the language of the Theravāda was known and understood in ancient Prams by at least a section of the people, that Pli canonical texts were studied in their doctrinal aspects, and finally, what is most important, that the original home from where this Pli Buddhism was introduced in Lower Burma was evidently the Andhra-Pyāwa region of South India, from such centres as Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakōṭa, Kāñcīpuram, Kīrtipurattanam and Uruṅpuram where Theravāda Buddhism during these centuries had established famous and flourishing strongholds, and which places, particularly the last three, are intimately associated with the Buddhaghoṣa tradition<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *As. R. A. S. J.*, 1927-28, pp. 177-82.

<sup>2</sup> *As. R. A. S. J.*, 1927-28, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> *As. R. A. S. J.*, 1927-28, pp. 180-81.

<sup>4</sup> These records have been fully analysed and discussed in all their bearings in the two chapters of my forthcoming volume on *History of Buddhism in Prams*. From the earliest time in the British Empire ready for the press. There will be found an attempt to reconstruct the early history of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma, and the later *śāstra* text which the introduction of the religion into Prams in 1025 A. D. drew to this.

<sup>5</sup> These findings tend to point to the conclusion that Theravāda Buddhism which in Burma to-day is of the Ceylonese form was originally introduced

## EARLIEST CONTACTS OF INDIA WITH INDIA: EVIDENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

It should incidentally be mentioned that these epigraphic records, besides being the earliest evidences of the introduction of Buddhism in Burma, are also the earliest documents of the history of India-Burma relations. It is also worth mentioning that the earliest documents of Buddhism in Lower Burma, from Old Prome, images of Buddhist gods and goddesses stylistically datable to about the seventh century, are their counterparts to the Vajra-Prakara art tradition, and those from Thaton, belonging to about the sixth and seventh centuries, seem to be affiliated to the Orissan tradition of sculpture.<sup>2</sup> In any case, available evidence at our disposal tends to show that during the early centuries the current of Indian colonial expansion in Lower Burma flowed mainly from the eastern coastal regions of South India, extending from ancient Kalinga down to the Cola country.

## INDIAN EXPANSION IN SOUTH-INDIA AND INDIVIDUAL EPICHRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

A rapid parallel survey of Indian penetration into the countries of Indo-China and the islands of Indonesia also brings out the same line from Ceylon that runs South India, where in the time of King (300—350) all followed the Hinayana-school though there existed a few adherents of Mahayana schools also (Tilak's *History's Records of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 322—323). In fact it was not till the middle of the twelfth century that Ceylon came to play any important rôle in the history of Buddhism in Burma. It was in 1117 when Parshvata, the then prince of the kingdom about Ceylon, on the plea of his' benevolence in consequence of his renunciation of the conduct of the then reigning King of Pagan, and in 1176 when Vira-Pada, the prince who had succeeded Parshvata, returned from a pilgrimage to Ceylon as the 'First Pilgrim of Ceylon' that the wheel came to revolve a little steadily in the eyes of the Burmese followers of the faith. In 1287, Capota, Uttarakpi's disciple, secured the title of 'Second Pilgrim of Ceylon' and on his return tried to convert the whole nation to the Ceylonese form. These incidents and conversions coupled with Capota's efforts to Christianise Burmese Buddhism led to the gradual predominance of Ceylonese Buddhism in Burma and the wiping out of even the memory of the original source. Moreover, the centre of Theravada Buddhism had also by that time been shifted from South India to Ceylon' (see my *History of Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 21, 22, 23).

<sup>2</sup> See my *Archaeological Colls in Burma*, pp. 17—21, plates II and V.



historical fact, though the centre of imperious as well as mainly confined in the realm of the Pallavas, which extended, in the seventh and eighth centuries, all over the south-eastern coast from the Godavari region down to at least the Kaveri. All the epigraphical records, some dated and the rest datable on palaeographical grounds from c. 400 A.D. to about the middle of the eighth century, are written in what is known as Pallava-Gantha characters of South-Eastern India.<sup>1</sup> The majority of these records are Brahmanical, but there are quite a number which point to the prevalence of Buddhism during these centuries in the islands and coasts of the South-Eastern sea. Thus the inscription of the mahābhūta Buddhagupta, found near the ruins of an old Buddhist temple in the Wilayat Province of the Malay Peninsula is a Buddhist document, palaeographically datable in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, or perhaps also the Kalyāṇa inscription (found at Kelāṅ near Sakai Marudai) of still earlier date. The Tolong Tere inscription of Sumatra, discovered not very far from modern Palembang and dated in the Saka year 564 (504 A.D.), is a religious document, and if the terms occurring in it are any indication, it is Buddhist (compare such terms as *viśvāśilānita*, *śāstāraṅga*, *śāstāraṅga*, *śāstāraṅgaśāstrānāma* [śāśtra, etc.]<sup>2</sup>

From West Borneo we have a series of as many as eight short Sanskrit epigraphs, palaeographically datable in the 6<sup>th</sup> century which definitely testify to the existence of Buddhism in that part of the island at that early period.<sup>3</sup> One of the earliest inscriptions of the ancient kingdom of Pagan, discovered at the monument of Tā Pagan in the province of Bhamo, and datable palaeographically and with the help of the Chinese texts at the disposal of M. Pelliot, is about the first quarter of the seventh century, is also hardly a Buddhist document. It states, among other things, that Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha are in a flourishing condition, and though the purport of the inscription is not clear, it can be surmised that it

<sup>1</sup> For a critical and latest study of these inscriptions see *Epigraphs of Indian Origin written during Pallava rule as evidenced by inscriptions*, by B. G. Chhabra, in *J. A. S. Soc.*, Vol. I, 1921, pp. 10-22.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. S. Soc.*, XXX pp. 19-20 & C. II, p. 11 *Chhabra*, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* *J. A. S. Soc.*, 1920-21, pp. 40-41 *B. Chhabra*, op. cit., pp. 22-23 *Yogal. Ep. Inscriptions*, 1924, pp. 107-110, LXCVI, pp. 417-424.

preceded the foundation of a Buddhist monastery.<sup>1</sup> This inscription stood along with other early inscriptions of Kamboja, particularly with the Yagya inscription of Prince Govindasena, found among the ruins of the monuments of Peñala Peñala Loma on the hill of Thap-muñ.<sup>2</sup> reveals the interesting fact that in contemporary Kamboja as in Burma, Buddhism and Brahmanism existed side by side. It is significant that in Burma, too, during the early centuries of definite Indian contacts, a similar state of affairs is equally noticeable, no less important is also the fact that, as in Kamboja, so in Burma, the prevailing cult of Brahmanism was that of Yagya.<sup>3</sup> Another early dated inscription of Kamboja (Jaina year 288=264 A.D.), the Vat Poy Wat Sankant inscription, is also definitely a Buddhist record, speaking of two bhāgvas, Kumbhānta and Ponnantika, who were born of the same mother (pānvañ).<sup>4</sup> That in Kamboja, Buddhism flourished already in the later half of the 5th century A.D. is also attested to by Chinese texts which have yielded to M. Pelliot the important information that in 484 A.D. Jeyavarman (king of Kou-mu, who is also referred to in the inscription discussed at Ta Prohm, cited above) sent the Indian monk Śākyas Nigama to present a memorial in the Chinese Imperial court which began with a panegyric of the Emperor as one of the patrons of Buddhism, in whose empire the Law flourished more and more.<sup>5</sup>

#### RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM IN SOUTHERN INDIA AND INDONESIA SAMGATYĪKA.

It is difficult to ascertain to which school the early Buddhism of the Hindooized countries of the South-Eastern area owed its origin. It is possible that the Hinayāna of the Sthaviravāda school may have preceded the Sarvāstivāda and the Mahāyāna, but there is no definite evidence to help us in our assumption. If the language (Sanskrit) of the inscriptions of the Malay Peninsula, West-Borneo

<sup>1</sup> *Archiv. Ind. N. O.*, XXXI, pp. 1-11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> See my *Brahmanical Gods* — pp. 12-14.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions, Assam* — , pp. 51-52 (Chatterj., *Indian cultural influence in Cambodia*, p. 22).

<sup>5</sup> *Chatterj., Indian cultural influence in Cambodia*, p. 22.

and Kamboja is any indication of the school, it may be inferred that the Buddhisms we catch a glimpse of in them is of the Sarvastivāda form. The inference gains strength from what we all know from Chinese sources about the state of religion in those islands and countries in the seventh century of the Christian era. When Fa-hien visited Java (from Ceylon) in about 411 A.D., there were many Brahmins in the island, and Buddhism was practically of no importance. In fact, Java was nearly given up to Brahminism till at least under the political and cultural domination of the Sumatran empire of Śrīvijaya. However, in other islands and countries of the region, so far as details available evidence goes, Buddhism began to assert itself not earlier than the middle of the fifth century, so that when I-tsing, towards the close of the seventh century wrote his celebrated *Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, based on extensive travels in India, Ceylon and the Indian Archipelago, he found that in the islands of the Southern Sea, consisting of more than ten countries, the *Mūlāsarvāstivāda-sūtrāya* had been universally adopted, except in Malaya (Śrī Bhaga — Śrīvijaya — Sumatra) where there were a few who belonged to the Mahāyāna.<sup>1</sup> And on this point I-tsing certainly could not mis-state facts, for he himself subscribed to the school of the Sarvastivāda.

Now then is the first problem before us. We know definitely that the Theravāda was prevalent in Burma from about the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. But is it likely that the Sarvastivāda was also known and practised in Burma in about the time I-tsing speaks of? Does I-tsing include any part of Burma when he speaks of the countries of the Southern Sea? Or, else, is there any other independent evidence of the existence of Sarvastivāda Buddhism in Burma? This is one of the first questions that we have to answer. If it had existed in Lan-ī (= Campa) where the Buddhists generally belonged to the *Āryasarvāstivāda-sūtrāya*, though there were also a few followers of the *Sarvastivāda-sūtrāya*,<sup>2</sup> as well as in Śrīvijaya (= Deikantā near Ayutthā in Siam), and I-tsing seems to suggest that at that time it all likelihood that Burma, a close neighbour of these two countries, did not remain untouched by the wave of the Sarvastivāda.

<sup>1</sup> *Tsitung, I-tsing's Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms.*

<sup>2</sup> *Tsitung, op. cit., p. 10.*

## summary

The gradual ascendancy of Śaiviteya of Sumatra to the status of an imperial power, exercising sovereignty over the neighbouring islands of the Archipelago from the third quarter of the seventh century, introduces a new culture-complex into the early history of Indo-China and Indonesia. The earliest inscriptions of this new power, discovered in Sumatra, and three of them dated in Śaka years 503, 505 and 506 (581, 583 and 585 A.D.), are all written in what is now known as Old Malay, interspersed with a large number of Sanskrit words.<sup>1</sup> One of these, the Talang Tero inscription (585 A.D.) referred to above, has a number of Sanskrit words that seem to point to the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. This is perfectly in accord with what I-ching has to say about the facilities of Mahāya (= Śai Mhaya = Śaiviteya) of almost exactly the same time.<sup>2</sup> By the middle of the eighth century, the Śaiviteya kings of Sumatra had already come into the possession not only of the Malay Peninsula but also of Java and the neighbouring islands. The earliest dated Śaiviteya record from the Malay Peninsula hails from Ligor.<sup>3</sup> It is written in Sanskrit and records the erection of three brick temples dedicated by a Śaiviteya king to the Śiṅgamaśiva and his two consorts, Prakāśparvī and Vajraparvī. The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 599 which corresponds to 675 A.D.<sup>4</sup> The earliest dated Śaiviteya inscription from Java is also a Mahāyāna document. It is the celebrated Kalasan inscription, dated in the Śaka year 700 (= 775 A.D.), which records the erection of a temple dedicated to the goddess Tārā, at the instance of the Śaiviteya king of Śaiviteya. The temple of Kalasan which stands to this day not very far from the magnificent Borobudur, is certainly that temple of Tārā referred to in the inscription. Following the Kalasan record comes another inscription, found at Kikuh and dated in the Śaka year 704 (= 779 A.D.), which refers to the consecration of an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī or Mañjuśrī at the instance of the

<sup>1</sup> Conze, *B. E. F. B. O.*, XXX, pp. 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels*, op. cit.

<sup>3</sup> *Budhaya*, by p. 280 f. From *Manusya-jati* (Sanskrit), vol. 10, p. 120. *Chulalongkorn*, op. cit., pp. 20-21. *Chulalongkorn*, *India and Java*. Greater India Society, Calcutta, pp. 40-42.

<sup>4</sup> *Chulalongkorn*, op. cit., p. 22.

gave of a king who is described as the "onset of the Śaśendra dynasty". The Nīlānāli copper-plate of Devayāti of Śrīpāli (first quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century) granting some villages for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nīlānāli, the celebrated seat of the Mahāyāna university by Śīlapātravara of the Śaśendra dynasty, and the Cola inscription (first quarter of the eleventh century) commemorating the gift of a village to a Śaśīnāra vāḍa at Nāgapaṭana, built by another king of the Śaśendra dynasty, also record the fervent zeal and ardour of the kings of Śrīpāyā in the cause of Mahāyāna Buddhism. A Nepalese manuscript of the eleventh century containing miniature-paintings of important Mahāyāna images at well-known centres of Buddhism, has one painting representing Lokanātha at Śrīpāyāpāra or Śrīpāyāpāra (Jumla)<sup>1</sup>. The Śrīpāyā, reputed as a stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism, attracted the celebrated Śaśīnāra monk Aśita (950—1015) in the eleventh century, who went there to consult a learned Śaśīnāra monk on that distant island<sup>2</sup>. And it is to the Śaśendra dynasty of Śrīpāyā that we owe the beautiful series of Mahāyāna temples now represented by the Caṇḍī Kāśasa, the Caṇḍī Pārasa and the Caṇḍī Māhātā, and perhaps also the magnificent Śaśīnāra.

The zeal of the Śaśendras for the cause of the Mahāyāna did not leave the neighbouring countries of Indo-China untouched and unaffected. It was probably under the reign of this dynasty that the Mahāyāna spread to the Nāyā Pārasa which presumably was embraced within the Śrīpāyā empire till at least as late as the eleventh century. In the Cambridge MS referred to above we have two inscriptions, one inscribed, Kāśīkāśāpāra (Kāśīka — Kāśī) Pārasaṅgavāra Lokanātha Śaśīnāra pārasaṅgavāra śrīpa, and another, Kāśīkāśāpāra Pārasaṅgavāra-Lokanātha. Both of them perhaps refer to the same temple which presumably was dedicated to the Mahāyāna god Lokanātha<sup>3</sup>. Dr. E. H. Chatterji has shown in his

<sup>1</sup> Camb. MS. no. Add. 1049, *Samantpāra Śrīpāyāpāra Lokanātha Śrīpāra Śāsa* (fol. 29 v<sup>o</sup> 1, p. 29). Compare also in this connection, another manuscript inscribed, *Yamāpāra Śrīpāyāpāra* (Camb. MS. no. Add. 1049, fol. 1, v<sup>o</sup> 1, p. 29; A. S. E. MS. no. A. 10 fol. 29 v<sup>o</sup> 1, p. 29).

<sup>2</sup> E. C. Das, *Nature's Paradise on the Coast of India*.

<sup>3</sup> Camb. MS. no. Add. 1049, fol. 100 v<sup>o</sup> 1, p. 100; *ibid.*, fol. 100 v<sup>o</sup> 2, p. 100.

Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia, that the Śaivism of Śrīvijaya, towards the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, exercised some sort of suzerainty over Kamboja, a naval raid by Śrīvijaya on the capital of Kamboja as actually recorded, and it is held that the Kamboja king Jayavarman II (910—930) had been to Java (which is said to have included both Sumatra and Java) for some time. After his return to his own country Jayavarman built three capitals in succession: Hariharapura, Amarendrapura and Mahendraparvata. Amarendrapura, identified with Suktam-Clemer, has been found to be essentially a Mahayana city possessed over by Avalokiteśvara.<sup>1</sup> If Finot believed<sup>2</sup> that even Angkor Thom which is known to have been a Śaiva city founded by the fervent Śaiva Jayavarman began in reality as a Buddhist city founded by Jayavarman II. Recent discoveries at the ruins of city have yielded images of the Mahāyāna god Lokāvara on the gates of the city, and in the temple of Bayon itself an Avalokiteśvara image has been found. Between Angkor Thom and Suktam-Clemer many vestiges of the Lokāvara cult have been discovered, but all these representations of Mahāyāna deities show signs of ruthless modification, evidently by later Śaivas. Dr. Chatterji suggests that the Mahāyāna came with Jayavarman II from Śrīvijaya.<sup>3</sup> However one may doubt<sup>4</sup> if Jayavarman really returned a Buddhist from Java, or whether Angkor Thom began as a Buddhist city, there can be no doubt about the entrance of the Mahāyāna in the capital city of Kamboja in about the ninth century. The images of Mahāyāna deities found from outside the ruins of the city are positive proof of that fact. In about the tenth and eleventh centuries Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to have grown more in popularity, for, besides images and sculptures testifying to the prevalence of the cult<sup>5</sup>, we have at least one reference to a temple of Tīrth in Kamboja in the Cambridge MS

<sup>1</sup> *B.E.F.E.O.*, XIV, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Indes Analesque* I, pp. 107—113.

<sup>3</sup> *Chatterji*, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> *Harpal*, P. C., *Ind. Hist. Journ.*, VI, pp. 101—102.

<sup>5</sup> King Jayavarman (944—970) is said to have commissioned several Mahāyāna images. Under his successor Jayavarman V (1011—1050), Mahāyāna Buddhism grew still more in importance.

referred to above. The monastery is mentioned *Kambhaja* (Tamil) <sup>1</sup>, and inscriptions refer to a temple dedicated to that goddess.

In Ceylon, too, Mahayana Buddhism flourished already in the sixth century. King Indrabhutu II (375, 485 A.D.) was a fervent Buddhist, and he was probably the builder of the Mahayana Buddhist stupa of Song Dasing dedicated to the god Lokeshvara. Towards the end of the seventh and in the twelfth century, it gradually grew into importance. Prasenjit became king in 1017 with the title of Parama Bodhisattva, while one of his successors, Jaya Indrabhutu IV (1075—1125), described himself as a learned scholar of the Mahayana and the Theravadinism.

It is a significant fact that all the Sanskrit records which testify to the prevalence of Mahayana Buddhism in Further India and Indonesia are written no longer in the Pallava-Gantha character which had been the case till the middle of the eighth century, but in the North Indian Nāgarī character, according to Dr. Charney, in the proto-Bengali character. This, backed by other arguments of historical interrelations between Eastern India and the countries and islands of the Southern Seas, has led Dr. Charney and other scholars (e.g. Prof. H. J. Krum) to hold that it was from Bengal and the Magadhan regions that Mahayana Buddhism was introduced into the islands of the Archipelago and the countries of Further India <sup>2</sup>.

#### TAMILIA

Of still more significance is the prevalence of the Theravada in Java, Sumatra and Kambaja, a fact now definitely established by modern research into the character of Mahayana Buddhism and Śaivism in these parts of the Indian Ocean. Already in a Kambaja inscription of the sixth century A. D. there is definite evidence of the teaching of Theravāda texts at the court of Jayavarman II (500—550). In a Kambaja record of the 12<sup>th</sup> century there is a reference to the "Patron of the Pāramitā", and images of Śaiva, definitely a Theravāda deity, have been recovered from amidst the ruins of Angkor Thom <sup>3</sup>. A number of Kambaja inscriptions refer to several kings who were initiated into the Great Secret (Pāda Gadya) by their

<sup>1</sup> *Excavations, Archaeographic Institute, II, p.*

<sup>2</sup> Charney, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 2 also the same author's *India and Java*, pp. 2—3.

<sup>3</sup> A French image has also been found in Sumatra.

Inscriptions from the Śāiva records make obvious references to Tantric doctrines that had crept into Śaivism.

But it was in Java and Sumatra that Tantrayāna seems to have attained greater importance. There Mahāyāna Buddhism and the cult of Śiva, both deeply imbued with Tantric influences, are to be seen often blending with one another during this period. The *Samyajyāna Kramakāyaśāstra*—consisting of Sanskrit verses explained by an Old Javanese commentary, professes to teach the Mahāyāna and the Mūrtayāna. Sir Charles Eliot thinks that it offers many parallels to Nepalese Tantric literature, which, as we know, consists of the teachings of the Buddhist monks of Magadha and Bengal during the Pala period. According to the tradition, *Isakasi*, *Yupa* and *Śiva* are emanations of the *Śaivya-Buddha Vairocana*. The other *śāstras* are also referred to in this strange work. Another Kawi text, which gives the story of *Kaṭṭarakarṇa*, writes Vairocana as being Śiva and Buddha in one.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Moore<sup>2</sup> quotes extracts from Prapañca's panegyric Kawi poem, the *Nīpavāśīṭhīpāna*, which shows that *Kṛtiśāgara*, the ruler of Sempura, was definitely given up to Tantric practices. A statue of this king has been found in a cremation ground which is a certain proof of his profession of Tantric doctrines, as fact the *Nīpavāśīṭhīpāna* states that *Kṛtiśāgara* had gone through the ten ceremonies of purification and the eight processes of initiation and that he carried out with scrupulous care the five *śāstras* 'free from all secularities'. The inscription engraved on the pedestal of his statue in the robes of a monk records that after his initiation on a cremation ground, he was supposed to be identified with *Aśubhaya*. The Tantric inscriptions of the Sumatran Prince *Āḍḍya-varman* (c. 1142-1177 A.D.), dated in the Śaka year 1064 (= 1142) and 1077 (= 1155), also refer in unmistakable language to Tantric practices undergone by the prince and to the evident Tantric character of the Buddhism he seems to have professed.<sup>3</sup> It is again Dr. Chatterjy's very able conclusion that this Tantrayāna with its peculiar blending of

<sup>1</sup> Chatterjy, *op. cit.* pp. 210-211.

<sup>2</sup> J. L. Moore, *Epigraphy and Indian Art*, London: Pablikations, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> For details, see Moore, *op. cit.* also Chatterjy, *Indian Cultural Heritage*, 1939, pp. 197-202, *India and Java*, pp. 10-11.



Stream with the Mahāyāna was introduced into Java, Sumatra and Kamboja from Eastern India, now comprised by the modern provinces of Bengal and Bihar, and perhaps also from Nepal and Tibet which were deeply influenced by Hīna-Buddhism and Jaina<sup>1</sup>.

#### MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM IN BURMA: A PRIMA FACIE CASE

The above rapid survey of the documentary background of the history of Mahāyāna and Tāntrīya in Further India and Indonesia has its obvious significance for an understanding of the history of Buddhism in Burma during these centuries. We know that from 1000 A.D., Upper Burma, and within another couple of centuries, also Lower Burma, became definitely converted to Theravāda Buddhism, and even before that period, the prevailing form of religion was the same Theravāda. But did Burma escape altogether this wave of the Mahāyāna and the Tāntrīya that swept the lands farther north and east and largely influenced the life and culture of the people of the tansa? Is there not, in Upper Burma, any trace of the Mahāyāna or any other later form of Buddhism that may have swept in before or after the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism into Pagan by Anawrahta in 1000 A.D.? If traces there are, did the cult or cults become extinct after the glorious inauguration of the new religion received from the Taling country? Is there any trace of Tāntra practices or Tāntra texts in Burma? Geographically, Burma lies in the midway between Ceylon and Kamboja, both by land and sea, and she holds the same position, by sea, in relation to Java and Sumatra. It is not unlikely that ships sailing from the East Indian port of Timorupā for the islands and countries beyond the Bay, some of them at least, would touch the ports of Burma, and even make there their objective, and drop some of the missionaries along with traders and adventurers, as they certainly did in Java and Sumatra, Ceylon and Kamboja. With Upper Burma there was moreover the possibility of a land route through Assam and Manipur, at least a line land route really existed as late as the eighteenth century along which the Manipuris and Burmese led their respective raids

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of the Buddhism of Theravāda in particular and Jaina in general see, Koenig, *Revue de l'Indo-chine*, II, the introduction, on the 'Buddhism of Theravāda'.

into Burma and Manipur). M. Fournier also recognises the existence of such a route which passed through the Upper Chindwin Valley in Upper Burma, till as late as the seventeenth century (c. 1663 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> The existence of a land route through Assam and Manipur is also attested to by European documents which refer to certain immigrations from North India in a very early period. One of these immigrations is said to have been responsible for the foundation of the city and dynasty of Tapani on the Irrawaddy,<sup>2</sup> and identified generally with Tapani of Ptolemy. A *prima facie* case lies, the case, in favour of the possible introduction of Mahayana and Tantric influences at least in Upper Burma.

If, therefore, the above questions are answered in the affirmative, further questions will be asked: Which were the circumstances that led to the introduction of this and similar cults of Buddhism? What, again, was the relative position of the Theravāda and Mahayana in Burma, and what was the attitude of the people and the ruling authorities? And, how, finally, did the Mahayana and allied cults influence the Theravāda, if they did at all?

#### PRESENT STATE OF OUR KNOWLEDGE

Before an attempt is made to discuss any of these questions, we have to take a short and rapid survey of the present state of our knowledge about the subject of our study.

Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions written in North-east Indian Nāgari characters discovered at the ruins of ancient Prasa and belonging to about the sixth and seventh centuries, have been known for about seven or eight years and though it has been recognised that they owe their origin to a school of Buddhism other than the Theravāda, no attempt has yet been made to interpret their significance in the history of Buddhism in Burma. Later Sanskrit epigraphs, mostly on terracotta ware tablets, in Nāgari

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for example, the route of the Manipuri or Thakpadi of the Chindwin river in 1847 and 1891 or Myittha in Shweta in 1793 and 1795—European counter-trade in Manipur in 1811, 1792—18 and even as late as 1812.

<sup>2</sup> *Reliques de voyage en Terre japonaises* edited by J. Étienne Lévesque, II, pp. 22<sup>nd</sup>–27.

<sup>3</sup> *Asiae Polae Clavis*, pp. 1–4.

and proto-Bengali characters, and recovered from the ruins of Pagan, have been correctly interpreted by M. Darmelle to have belonged to the Mahayana tradition. The same scholar also proved clearly and convincingly for the first time<sup>1</sup>, that the well-known sect of the Aris of Upper Burma was a Mahayana Buddhist sect greatly addicted to Tantric practices, in this connection he also brought out the significance of some of the paintings on the walls of a group of temples of Pagan, notably those of the Pagan than-on and Nandawathia. He also suggested that this Tantric character of Buddhism may have been due to contemporary religious influences from Bengal.

Images of gods and goddesses discovered from time to time have also been identified as belonging to the Mahayana pantheon, but their significance has been little understood, some of them, and they constitute a good number, have only lately been recognised as Mahayana deities<sup>2</sup>. Some gods of the Mahayana pantheon have also been incorporated in the Theravada mythology of Burma, but this curious fusion still remains unexplained.

The existence of a heterodox sect, the Samasakshikans, was also known for a long time. The *Siksumonaw* refers to them as a strong and powerful sect that acquired a footing in Pagan at a very early period<sup>3</sup>. But no attempt has yet been made to find out who these Samasakshikans were or what was the significance of the religious tenets and rites they held and practised.

In short, it has been generally recognised that Mahayana Buddhism and a lesser sort of Mahayana Theravada were known in Upper Burma, but our knowledge does not extend very far in that direction. Our knowledge of the circumstances that led to the introduction of these cults are vague and much too general; we have any idea been entertained as to the possibility of the prevalence of any other form of Buddhist Buddhism. No attempt has also been made to evaluate the extent of influence which these different schools of Buddhist Buddhism played in Burma,

<sup>1</sup> Darmelle, *The Aris of Burma and Their Buddhist Beliefs*, in *As. P. J. S.*, 1912-13, pp. 29-31.

<sup>2</sup> See my article on 'The cult of Lokeshvara and other Mahayana gods in Burma', in *Buddhistic Studies*, Calcutta, 1921, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Siksumonaw*, P.T.S., pp. 11-17.

or how they reacted on the minds of the people and their religion, the Theravāda. The problem has not also been approached from the living side, and the Indian documents, mostly Tibetan, have not been thoroughly analysed so as to yield their fullest information.

Of course, this has been largely due to the Burmese denial of the existence of any other school of Buddhism other than the Theravāda. Indeed, the Burmese people and their mass of obdurate ignorance do not seem to know of any other religion than what they profess to-day and have been doing so for centuries. This denial of authentic Burmese records as to the prevalence of the Mahāyāna or any other form of Buddhism before or after the Theravāda reformation of the eleventh century is apparently a serious difficulty for the historian to overcome. But, "this is merely a sectarian endeavor", as M. Duroelle rightly points out, "to make the nation forget that there had once existed at Pagan a Buddhist sect outside the pale of Southern Buddhism"<sup>1</sup>.

#### THE PROBLEMS STATED

The problems before us can now be stated as follows.

1. What is the earliest form of Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma, and where did it thrive?
2. What is the significance of Sanskrit inscriptions found in Pagan and other places in Upper Burma, and of Sanskrit texts referred to in inscriptions? Is there any evidence of the existence of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna texts in Burma? If so, what is their significance?
3. What is the conclusion to be derived from archaeological finds that can definitely be labelled as belonging to the Mahāyāna and other late schools of Buddhist Buddhism?
4. Who were the Aras? Who were the Samasambhāsikas? And in what way are they related with the Mahāyāna or Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna cults of Buddhism?
5. What is the testimony of Indian documents regarding the introduction of the Mahāyāna and other allied cults into Burma, and what evident conclusions can be derived from them?

<sup>1</sup> Duroelle, *op. cit.*

6. When and where did these cults of Senjōri Buddhism penetrate Korea? And, finally,
7. What was the relative position of the orthodox and heterodox schools of Buddhism in Korea? Did the latter influence the former in any way?

These problems will now be discussed one by one in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER ONE

### ŚARVĀSIVĀDA IN ANCIENT FROME (7)

#### ANCIENT DESCRIPTION FROM OLD FROME: THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

In the course of excavations carried out at Kan-wai-chang-kou in Old Frome in 1919-20, M. Darcoville came upon a very interesting bilingual inscription carved on the three sides of the pedestal of a Brāhmi image seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā* and *aprajāyapitṛa* attitude. The record is composed in beautiful Sanskrit verse, but is interspersed with what Dr. Nilsson has recognized as Pys. renderings of the Sanskrit text, the script is later Gupta-Bellard of Eastern India of about the seventh century, and the image itself can stylistically be ascribed to the later Gupta tradition of art, belonging to exactly the same period as is suggested by the palaeography of the inscription.<sup>1</sup> The image seems to have been set up by King Jayvamsdevvarman at the instance of his religious teacher (*guru*) with the express purpose of establishing and maintaining peace, unity and good-will between the King himself and his younger brother (*parivṛajita*) Bhadravarman. Jayvamsdev further it is stated in the record, built two cities (*prajā-durgas*) side by side (evidently, one for each) and over in one day (*śukla dīna*).

The record is valuable in more than one respect. It supplies us with a definite starting-point in the political history of ancient Frome, and yields important information regarding the history of

<sup>1</sup> The important record, the text of its Sanskrit version, will remain unpublished though a notice of the find appeared in the *Jin. B. A. S. S.* as early as 1923-24, pp. 261, 242. The courtesy of Mr. E. B. Dickson, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India, and of Mr. C. G. Nilsson has enabled me to study the record, a summary of the results of which I am incorporating here. I take the opportunity of acknowledging with thanks the kindness of these two scholars.

Buddhism in Lower Burma about the seventh century A. D. besides contributing substantially to the elucidation of the origin of the Pyu script. So far as the present study is concerned, the Pyu inscription allows us to arrive at some tentative conclusions: 1) there seems to have existed a certain rivalry between the two brothers, Jayasambhavarman and Harivarma, and the former was advised to put an end to it, by providing two cities, one for each, so as to promote peace and goodwill between the two brothers, 2) Jayasambhavarman and Harivarma both belonged to one and the same dynasty, not to two different families, as has been generally supposed, by reason of their having two different name-endings, 3) the royal house in which these two brothers belonged adhered to Buddhism, and 4) what is most important, the Buddhism professed by Jayasambhavarman belonged to one of the Northern Schools whose monuments are supposed to have been written in Sanskrit.

The second important Sanskrit inscription recovered from the ruins of Hmawza is found on the pedestal of a headless Buddha image<sup>1</sup>, and consists of the well-known Buddhist formula *ye dharmah satyadhamo... etc.*, which used to be widely inscribed on terracotta tablets all over Burma, in Sanskrit as well as in Pali. The script of the record is the same as that of the Pyu inscription noted above, viz. it is North-Eastern Indian. Dittoli et al. about the seventh century. The style of the image agrees with that of the Buddha image from Kan-wat-khong-kon; it represents the late Gupta tradition of Eastern India.

These two are not the only images belonging to the art tradition which was recovered from the ruins of Pyu. In fact, these ruins have recently yielded a large number of stone sculptures and terracotta which mostly representing Buddhist subjects, and belonging to an art-tradition similar to Magadha during the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Nor are these epigraphic records the only ones found at Hmawza. The locality has produced a large number of terracotta votive tablets inscribed with the Buddhist formula in late Gupta-Buddhist characters of about the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Some of them have evidently been brought to Burma by pious followers of the faith from such Indian centres of Buddhism as Sririch and

<sup>1</sup> *As. E. A. S. I.*—1925—26, p. 102, pl. III.

Boḍhi-ṣūtr<sup>1</sup> which were certainly moulded and inscribed by local craftsmen for local requirements, as they bear on them Pys marks and legends as well.

The original home of these records and images is then North-Eastern India, or, the Magadhan region. It will be remembered that this region, in the seventh century was a stronghold of the Sarvāstivāda-śākyas, as is testified by I-tsing<sup>2</sup>, and probably also by Hsueh Tsung when he speaks of the „Mahāyāna of the Śākyava School“ in Magadha.<sup>3</sup> From this fact we infer that the

<sup>1</sup> *Trilokan, Tsung's Records*, p. 29, nos. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Western Vase Catalogue*, II, p. 124, and comments on pp. 124, 125, 126-127 and 128.

It is uncertain what Hsueh Tsung exactly means by the expression „Mahāyāna of the Śākyava school“, which involves an apparent contradiction. Hsueh Tsung's account is not very definite as his description of the monasteries of Buddhism prevalent in his time. The term „Mahāyāna“ he uses as a very loose name, even the Buddhist teachers of Ceylon he calls „Mahāyāna Śākyava“. The Śākyavādians in Theravāda were a Mahāyāna sect and although the Mahāyāna followed the Vinaya of the Theravādians the closest relation of the Theravādians (ap. all the Northern Buddhist sects) with the Sarvāstivādians who like the Theravādians, were recognised as a Mahāyāna sect and who also followed the Vinaya of the Theravādians. I am therefore disposed to assume that by the phrase „Mahāyāna of the Śākyava school“ Hsueh Tsung probably referred to those Buddhists of the Western School who were recognised as Mahāyāna, and had thus the closest relation with the Śākyavādians (but whose doctrinal approach, in common with the Mahāyāna, was foreign, viz. the Sarvāstivādians).

My main reason for regarding the „Mahāyāna of the Śākyava School“ with the Sarvāstivādians is that Hsueh Tsung describes the Buddhist teachers of the Mahāyāna Vihāra as „Mahāyāna of the Śākyava School“, and writes in his own words that „at his own monastery the teachers at the Magadhan monasteries were evidently Mahāyāna in that sense“ (II, p. 124). It is also significant that Tsung who comes only about 75 years later states that „in Magadha... the Sarvāstivāda-śākyas founded the sect“ (*Trilokan*, op. cit., p. 5). These are upheld also by the parallel statements of the two pilgrims with regard to Kāśyāp. According to the older pilgrim the teachers of the monasteries of Hsi-hung-ko (Kāśyāp) were „students of the Mahāyāna Śākyava school“ (*Western*, op. cit., p. 126). According to I-tsing, the Śākyavādinśākyavādians was also adopted at Kāśyāp and I-tsing himself being a Sarvāstivāda could not have been mistaken on this point.



Buddhism represented by the described images of Prame was that of the Mahāyānistāna.

One may at once ask: why not of the Mahāyānists? There is nothing definitely to refute such a question, but considering the very paucity of facts, definitely Mahāyānists, recovered from Old Prame, and from the very powerful influence that Hinayāna exercised there from about two centuries earlier, it seems unlikely that the Mahāyāna had any such psychology at so early a date as to warrant our assuming the existence of a Mahāyānist family of images and the find of a number of Sanskrit inscriptions including the long record from *Kaṃ-wei Hinayāna*.

The main argument for ascribing this Sanskrit Buddhism of Old Prame to the Sarvātīrvidā is the language. The second point is the script and the actualities of the images which bear these records, and the third, the locality from where this Buddhism seems to have travelled to Burma. The 15th epigraphs found at the old capital of Prame are all written in what is called the Khotan, Tokara or Kachemir script, and are unmistakably records of Theravāda Buddhism, while the Sanskrit epigraphs are invariably in a North-East Indian script, viz. in late Gupta-Brahmi or early Nāgarī of Eastern India. We know that the Theravāda and the Sarvātīrvidā differ but little in principle and almost nothing in positive facts of them belong to the broader Hinayāna and follow the same Pāraṃ. It is therefore only likely that the Buddhism represented by these Sanskrit documents of ancient Prame was by the Sarvātīrvidā. We only regard it as a probable explanation of the use of Sanskrit in locally Buddhist, presumably Hinayānist, records. This, I think cannot be explained by the fact of the presence of Brahmins and Brahmanical Hindūism at the capital of the old kingdom of Prame<sup>1</sup>, or even by stray finds of Mahāyāna images there, some of which can be dated, on account of the style, before the eighth or ninth century.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF P-TRAM'S EVIDENCE

The assumption of the existence of Sarvātīrvidā in ancient Prame during the seventh and eighth centuries seems to find striking

<sup>1</sup> See my *Practical Guide* . . . Calcutta University, 1924.

suggest from what I-tsing states about the relative position of the different schools of Buddhism in his time in the islands of the Southern Sea.

That celebrated Chinese traveller appeared in India and the Eastern Archipelago in the last quarter of the seventh century (671—75), the same period to which the Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions and images may paleogeographically and stylistically be assigned. It is unfortunate that the pilgrim did not visit any of the regions situated along the coast-line of Sumatra or at some distance in the interior. But he certainly took pains to learn about the state of the religion in all those countries lying to the east and south of the Bay? That he succeeded to a great extent is proved by the following passage in his *Si-yu-ki* (ch. I, f. 3, verso):

At the (eastern) extremity of the eastern Indian countries, i.e., East India, there is the so-called Great Black Mountain which is 7 days' or the Southern boundary of Tulu (Tulu, according to Takeda). The mountain is said to be on the South-West of the island (Su-chi-ko) from which one can reach this mountain after a journey of a month or so. Northwest from this and close to the mountain there was a country called Shih-t'ch'i-tu-lo (Sihistan), on the southeast of this is Lang-chia-shih (Lankata) on the east is Shu-ho-pu-ti (Devavati) at the extreme end (East). The inhabitants of all these countries greatly reverence the Three Gems (probably the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha). There was a way also laid down in the principle and practice for bringing ships which constitutes a custom in these countries.<sup>1</sup>

Of the countries mentioned in the above passage, Lang has been identified with Campa, Shu-ho-pu-ti with Devavati (now Apudha in Sum), Shih-t'ch'i-tu-lo with Sijehava or Old Prama (the capital now being represented by the ruins of Hinayana), and Lang-chia-shih with the kingdom of Chikera-lang-chia or Kikolarika of Huen Tsang.<sup>2</sup> The identification of Lang, Shu-ho-pu-ti (also mentioned by Huen Tsang as Tu-ho-pu-ti) and Shih-t'ch'i-tu-lo has also been mentioned by Huen Tsang as situated to the northeast

<sup>1</sup> Takeda op. cit. p. 4—11.

<sup>2</sup> Takeda op. cit. pp. 37—38. Pelliot, *J.E.P.E.O.*, 1904, pp. 471—484. Chavannes, *Religions Bouddhiques*, p. 28, 2.

<sup>3</sup> For these identifications see Takeda op. cit. pp. 3—10. Franke, *History of Sumatra*, p. 37. See also *Buddhist Records of the Eastern World*, II, p. 100, n. 32. Chavannes op. cit. and above all Pelliot, 'Deux Inscriptions', in *J.E.P.E.O.*, 1904.

of Sarawati, by the side of a great sea in a valley of mountains. This situation of Sarawati is evidently wrong; but it lies far to the south-east, not to the north-east of Sarawati.<sup>1</sup>

#### IDENTIFICATION OF LANG-CHIA-SIA

The identification of the one remaining name Lang-chia-sia at Lou-lou, has long puzzled scholars. It is generally assumed that I-tsing's Lang-chia-sia is the same as Hsien Tsiang's Chia-mo-hsiang-chia or Kimalakia, because Lang-chia-sia is placed by I-tsing exactly in the same relation to S'ik-p'ei and De-fu-wai as Chia-mo-hsiang-chia is placed by Hsien Tsiang in relation to the same kingdoms.<sup>2</sup> We may therefore assume that they are one and the same country, nor can there be any objection to their being identified, as Hsien Tsang and P'ei-shih<sup>3</sup>, with P'ei and the definite region of the Irrawady. But as Lang-chia-sia has been identified with a considerable number of similar names found in Chinese and other sources, there exists the possibility of the kingdom being identified with other regions of Further India. It has been pointed out that Lang-chia or Lang-chia-sia is mentioned several times by I-tsing as a port visited by Chinese pilgrims (whose lives he records) on their way to India.<sup>4</sup>

It seems clear that I-tsing's Lang-chia (-sia) "was on the west coast of the Peninsula, on the route somewhere between Sumatra and Java; and if so how can it be both south-east of S'ik-p'ei and west of De-fu-wai which is placed to the head of the Malay I-tsing, when he sent his Java of the Pilgrims back to China, had lived about eight years on the coast of the South, mostly at Palembang. Could he have made any mistake about the position of Lang-chia-sia? Or, did he know, without troubling to distinguish them, two kingdoms of the name of Lang-chia(-sia), the one somewhere in Transsumatra, the other on the east side of the Penin-

<sup>1</sup> Luo, *J. I. S. S.*, *R. N.* II, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> "Their north-east is a, from Sarawati beside the great sea in a valley of hills on the kingdom of M'lo-hi-ki-ki-ki. Hence to the southwest, in a corner of the great sea is the kingdom of Chia-mo-hsiang-chia; thence to the east is the kingdom of De-fu-wai." This is from Hsien Tsiang's records, compare it with that of I-tsing quoted above.

<sup>3</sup> *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> One such passage may be found in Charvaka, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

side south of the volcano of Kin' Ch. in I-tsing here merely echoing Hsiao Tsiang but substituting for Kinsai-sha (a name unknown to him), one that was familiar, Lang-chia-sha, without much regard for geographical accuracy"<sup>1</sup>.)

Meanwhile Lang-chia-sha has been taken to be identical with the kingdom of Lang-ya or Lang-ya-hua which is referred to in the *Shing shu* (ib. 52, f. 3, verso), and also with that of Lang-ya-hua mentioned in connection with Ch'ing Chou's embassy to Ch'iu's kingdom in 627-628 A.D. (*Wei Shih*, ch. 17, f. 3, verso; *Ssu shu*, chap. 82, f. 2, verso)<sup>2</sup>. Without going into the details of these texts which have been ably discussed by Drs. CHAMBERLAIN, SCHROEDER, PEHREZ and Mr. LOU<sup>3</sup>, it may be said that the position of these kingdoms as detailed in the Chinese texts seems to be quite in accordance with that of I-tsing's Lang-chia-sha. I.e., they are situated somewhere on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula to the south of the volcano of Kin.

Furthermore, Lang-chia-sha has also been identified with Lang-ya-shi-sha mentioned by Chou-yu-hua (lang)<sup>4</sup>, as one of the three dependencies of Sui-hua-shi (Srivijaya = Sumatra = Palembang) which again, M. Caillie thinks<sup>5</sup>, corresponds to (a) Langyagun of Tanjong Teras inscription of Rhyacacodon (1275-1282), and (b) the Lihassaka, a dependency of Mayapahit, mentioned in the Kawi poem Niyaradantayana (12<sup>th</sup> century). M. Pellier conjectures that Lang-chia-sha = Lang-ya-hua = Lang-ya-hai = Lang-ya-shi (-shu) = Lihassaka was one and the same kingdom<sup>6</sup> which he identified with Tamassurim. M. Peroussé agrees with him but further identifies it with Gajigayana the Loca of Maru Pail<sup>7</sup> (end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century), and finally with Lang-sai-ai of an Arabic manuscript of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, situated on the east

<sup>1</sup> LOU, *J. B. P. O.*, 12<sup>th</sup> ed., pp. 216-17.

<sup>2</sup> LOU, *ibid.*, pp. 214-15.

<sup>3</sup> PEHREZ, 12<sup>th</sup> ed., *J. B. P. O.*, 1903 and 1904; CHAMBERLAIN, 12<sup>th</sup> ed., *Collegial F. Lang. Ind.*, p. 102; LOU, 12<sup>th</sup> ed.

<sup>4</sup> CHOU-YU-HUA, ed. by HIRTH and BODDARD. This kingdom is also referred to as Lang-yau-shi.

<sup>5</sup> CAILLIE, *J. B. P. O.*, 1908, no. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *J. B. P. O.*, 1904, pp. 217-217.

<sup>7</sup> WILK and COCHRAN: *ibid.*, 11, p. 191.

of the Malay Peninsula.<sup>1</sup> He therefore fixes the position of the kingdom on the western of Lays. But Coedès, while finding in Lang-chia-shih of I-tsing Lang-yue-hsin of the Tang-shih and the Lang-yu-hsin of the Sin-shih use and for some place, near to the Kingdoms of Elphandocle's conception, the Lang-yue-shih of Chao-yu-hsin and the Libhianika of the Nilaparāṅkīpana quite a different place.<sup>2</sup> He identifies the former with Tamassara just as M. Pellot does and the latter with Gassay [Gaza or Kadesh Insak, in the south of the Kadesh State].

We have surveyed the various identifications proposed of I-tsing's Lang-chia-shih. None of them is free from objection. M. Pellot was obviously influenced by the fact that I-tsing located the kingdom south-east of Sclavaria and west of Delavanti, a circumstance which cannot be ignored. If Fauchard's arguments for placing it on the western of Lays are hardly convincing, his identification does not take into the account that if it was situated south-east of Sclavaria and west of Delavanti, was the fact which I-tsing elsewhere seems to indicate, according to some, that it was on the opposite coast of the Peninsula somewhere on the route between Amargard and Jera. The first identification of M. Coedès where he agrees with M. Pellot conforms to the statement of I-tsing about its location, but the distinction he makes between the two sets of names is open to objection which have rightly been pointed out by Mr. Luce.<sup>3</sup>

For the present, I am rather disposed to agree with M. Pellot, and identify I-tsing's Lang-chia-shih with at least that portion of the present Tamassara division which extends from Terey to Tamassara proper, i. e., the region watered by the Tamassara river, which is really to the south-east of Sclavaria and west of Delavanti. Personally, I feel inclined to assume that Lang-chia-shih was practically identical with the entire Tamassara division of to-day extending from Thastou to Tamassara. The position, then, of the various kingdoms bordering the Southern Sea may be stated briefly as follows: Siah i-ch'i-ta-to or Sclavaria,

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. S.* [London], 1902, pp. 124—25, 223—24.

<sup>2</sup> "A Re-examination of the Kadesh Insak," in the *J. Ind. Arch.*, III, p. 71—72.

<sup>3</sup> *J. R. S. S.*—XIV, n. 27, 112—12.

second, Lang-chia-sha or Chu-ma-lang-sha or Kiam-shan to the south-west of S'atageta and west of Deh'awati third, Shu-ho-pen or Tu-ho-pen (= Deh'awati) fourth, Fan-yin to the south of Deh'awati and south-west of Lan-t (Campa), 'in a corner of the sea', fifth, Chen-ha or Old Fou-nan (Kambuja), to the east south-east of P'ang-pia and lastly, Lina to the extreme east extending as far as the coast.

As for other references by I-t'ung<sup>1</sup> to Lang-chia-sha, I think, they can be reconciled in the following way: the boats that carried the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims kept generally to the coastline till they passed Fou-nan (or Chen-ha, as it was then called), whence they did no longer follow the coastline, but followed by the current, crossed the Gulf of Siam, almost diagonally till they came to anchor somewhere at the head of the Gulf on the east coast of the Peninsula, whence they crossed over to Ho-shing (Java), and thence via Nikhar to Timor-Lepi. For the rest, we can safely assume that the kingdom of Lang-chia-sha extended from coast to coast of the Peninsula.

We are now in a position to see more or less definitely I-t'ung's data as to the state of Buddhism in the countries in question. Of the various countries in Further India that practiced Buddhism at the time, one, viz. S'atageta, is definitely included in Forme and the other, Lang-chia-sha, too, we have tentatively identified with a region included in the same territory. According to I-t'ung 'the inhabitants of both these countries, greatly revered the Three Gems and held firmly to the precepts, and performed the begging duties that constituted a custom in these countries'. In one of the countries, namely, Lang-chia-sha, Buddhist points from China used to be received in three days with honour, as will be evident from the following passage which is quoted on the authority of Chavannes:

King Ch'ia-kuo and Prince Chou Ch'iao pilgrims having reached We-Lai (a small seaport west of P'eking in Canton) sailed on a small coast ship. . . . They passed Forme and anchored in the vicinity of Lang-chia-sha and were treated by the king of that country with ceremonial kindness usually reserved to very honored and distinguished guests.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes op. cit. pp. 27, 28, 29.

<sup>2</sup> Chavannes op. cit., p. 27.

Ts'ao, another Chinese pilgrim, whom we have had occasion to mention, also visited the same kingdom; he too was welcomed by the king of the country with the greatest courtesy, and was treated with utmost care and respect.<sup>1</sup>

It now remains to be considered to which school the Buddhists of Szechuan and Lang-sha-sha really belonged. On this point I-tsing himself, I think, gives us a very illuminating, and almost a definite lead. He speaks of the four schools or schools of Buddhism in his time, the *Mahāyāna-sūtrā*, the *Sūtravāda-sūtrā*, the *Samantabuddhi-sūtrā*, and the *Nīlavarāṇasīkha-sūtrā*, "but the number of temples in each school is unequal in different places." As to the distribution of the different schools, he states:

In Szechuan the doctrine of the four schools are generally in practice; yet the *Sarvāśivāda-sūtrā* predominates the most. In Lan and Szechu, the centre of Szechuan in Western India, the *Sarvāśivāda-sūtrā* has the greater number of followers, and there are still a few members of the other three schools. In the Northern Szechuan all belong to the *Sarvāśivāda-sūtrā*, though we sometimes meet with the followers of the *Mahāyāna-sūtrā*. Towards the South all follow the *Sūtravāda-sūtrā* though there exist a few adherents of the other two schools. In the Eastern Frontier Countries the four schools are found side by side. . . . In the Szechuan island all belong to the *Sūtravāda-sūtrā*, and the *Sūtra Mahāyāna-sūtrā* is regarded. In the islands of the Southern Sea, according to what they have reported, the *Nīlavarāṇasīkha-sūtrā* has been almost universally adopted though occasionally some have devoted themselves to the *Samantabuddhi-sūtrā*, and scarcely a few adherents of the other two schools have still been found. Crossing from the West, there is first of all *P'ia-h-shih chiao* (i.e., *India*, northwest of *Szechuan*), and then *Ma-ho-ku chiao* (probably *India*, north of *Yunnan*) which is now the kingdom of *Shih-ho-shih* (*Shih-p'ei*). *Ma-ho-ku chiao*?, Ho-ho chiao (i.e. *India*), *Ma-ho chiao* (probably *Yunnan*), *P'ia-h-shih chiao* (perhaps modern *Yunnan* on the northern coast of *India*), *P'ia-h chiao* (*India*).

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *India* (India is in the *Ma-ho-ku* kingdom of the *P'ia-h-shih chiao* chiao). "In one of the inscriptions," says H. F. Holst, "of the famous King K'ang, . . . there is mention of a war led by the prince against the King of *Kāśmīra*." *F. R. E. S.*, 1904, pp. 202-203. Mr. Takakura might be already in the *Szechuan* in South China (*Records*, p. 100). Mr. Watanabe following Mr. Hsueh-shan identified it with *Lang-sha* of the 12<sup>th</sup> and *Chiao* of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (*Id. ib. ib.*, *See Jour.*, no. 11, Nov. 1927, p. 12<sup>1</sup>). For Mr. Fernald's views, see *J. A.*, 1919, pp. 101-102.

It's *lan ch'ao* 禪, *Ho-shih-pu* 何世浮 is also 禪, *Ar-shan shan* (not identified), and *Mo-shan-wei ch'ao* 摩訶世浮 ch'ao. There are some more names which cannot all be mentioned here. Buddhism is understood in all these countries and mostly the Mahāyāna is adopted except in Malaya, where there are a few who belong to the Sāstivāda.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE BODHISATVA OF SHIH-SEK'U-TA-KU AND LANG-CHIA-SHI

We have seen above that I-tsing speaks of the definite existence of Buddhism in *Shih-sek'u-ta-ku*, *Lang-chia-shi*, *Sho-ho-pu-to* and *Lo-fo*, but he does not say to which particular *nāgaya* the Buddhists belonged, though he asserts that they all subscribed to the Mahāyāna. Now, we know that all the three *nāgaya*, the Ārya Śālistvāda-*nāgaya*, the Ārya Saṃmata-*nāgaya* and the Ārya Mūlāsarvātivāda-*nāgaya*, are comprised within the Mahāyāna. To which of these *nāgaya*, then, of the Mahāyāna, must we ascribe the Buddhism of *Shih-sek'u-ta-ku* and *Lang-chia-shi*? We have only one possible answer to this question, I think: it belonged to the Mūlāsarvātivāda-*nāgaya*. Of the three *nāgaya*, the Śālistvāda is ruled out as it was practised only in Ceylon and to some extent to the south of India. The Saṃmata-*nāgaya* is also scarcely ruled out, because it had its largest number of followers in the *Lāpa* and *Sindha* countries, though in the islands of the Southern Sea, (e.g., in *Camboja*) occasionally there were a handful of followers of this school. In all other regions of the Buddhist world, excepting the *Divine Land* or *Red pavilion* (i.e., China), it was the Mūlāsarvātivāda-*nāgaya* that was universally practised. It is thus only in the *Land of Fa-tu*, considering the wide prevalence of the Sarvātivāda

<sup>1</sup> According to M. Faucher, it stands for *Gāna* or *Gura*, mentioned only (apparently) in the Mūlāsarvātivāda, perhaps to be the island of *Gāna* or *Gura*, to the southwest of the island of *Ceylon*. (Faucher, *J. A.* 1911) pp. 307-308.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Takakura and M. Faucher sought to identify it with *Shōpagan* in north-west of Java, but the latter points out that if so, I-tsing is not observing his arrangement, there were to visit.

<sup>3</sup> The Mūlāsarvātivāda mentions a *Shaktavana* which Dr. Kern places to the south of *Patavara*. Faucher, *J. A.*, 1911, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> Takakura, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2; also see Lane, *J. O. S. S.* XIV, 2, 1914, pp. 302-303. The reading in both are almost the same, but Dr. Lane gives better identification of place-name.



in I-tsing's time<sup>1</sup>, that the Buddhists of Shih-to-ch'i-tole and Lang-sha-sha cannot be other than the Sarvastivāda itself. This almost obvious conclusion is tested with a significance when we hear at least I-tsing's important statement that 'in the islands of the Southern Sea (which included Siam, Sumatra, Java and the Malay Peninsula) the Mahāvastuvāda-sūtra has been universally accepted'<sup>2</sup>.

With regard to Shih-to-ch'i-tole, there is moreover the evidence of the inscriptions. I-tsing tells us that the Buddhists of these countries was the Hinayāna. We have two sets of Buddhist epigraphic records from the ancient city of Prasa (= I-tsing's Shih-to-ch'i-tole) one in Pāli written in Kadamba or Kharoṣṭhi-Indra characters and belonging to a period not later than the sixth century; the other in Sanskrit written in later Gupta-Brahmi characters of about the seventh century. We know that the Pāli records are ascribed to the Theravāda, and to what other school of the Hinayāna the Sanskrit records may possibly belong than to the Sarvastivāda?

The Sarvastivāda of Lower Siam, it has been suggested above, came from the Magadhan region of North-Eastern India, which in the seventh century was itself one of the strongest centers of the Mahāvastuvāda-sūtra.

<sup>1</sup> 'In I-tsing's time the Sarvastivāda school flourished most in North India, and in Magadha and Central India (Madhyadesha), and had also some followers in the East and West, but was entirely absent in Ceylon, and had very few adherents in South India. No other school, so far as we are concerned, ever flourished so widely in the Sarvastivāda, either before or after the seventh century. Though its adherents in India alone, in Hsuan Tsang's time, were not so numerous as those of other schools'. *Ts'ung-tsu, J. E. A. S., 1924, p. 420, note, Record, p. 1001*.

## CHAPTER TWO

### SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS, SANSKRIT BUDDHIST TEXTS

#### I

##### SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM UPPER BURMA, THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

Every year archaeological excavations in Pagan and at other ancient sites of Upper Burma bring to light a number of stone sculptures and terracotta votive tablets with or without figures of the Buddha and attendants, so that there is now an enormous number of them in the collection of the Archaeological Survey of Burma. These objects invariably are inscribed with a short legend which in nearly every case is the well-known Pāli formula *yo dhamma hoti bhaddo . . .*, written in medieval Nagari, and sometimes in pre-Brahmī characters of the 7<sup>th</sup>—12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Evidently the great majority of these inscribed tablets were brought from the East Indian countries of Bihar and Bengal to Pagan and other important centres of Burma, but some of them were inscribed locally, for they bear the names of royal and other personages of Pagan. The language is mostly Sanskrit, sometimes the legends are in Pāli or mixed Sanskrit and Pāli, but here we are mainly concerned with those in Sanskrit. Among those inscribed locally and bearing local names, we have a considerable number, containing the name of the great Pagan king Mahāśīpa, Śīpa Anandāditya (i.e., King Anandadīpa). But these tablets are not at the same time inscribed with the Pāli formula. To quote a few examples:

1. *Sarvabuddhānā Mahāśīpa Śīpa Anandādityasā havi 1100.*
2. *Sarvabuddhānā Mahāśīpa Śīpa Anandādityasā . . .*
3. *Śīpa Mahāśīpa Śīpa Anandādityasā havi śīpātthānānā . . .*

4. *Mañjirāvalāhārasa Jyetaḥ Paṅga-s[ar]jan[ar]janah, tava Mañjira  
amāvalāhā lāhārasa s[ar]jan[ar]janah* ?

Similar legends, but associated with the names of other persons are inscribed on silver tablets which have also been found among the ruins of Pagan and other centres in Upper Burma. The following is an example:

*Maṅga [26] Ka [26] dāmasa Jyā[26] [Paṅga] Sa [26] [ar]jan[ar]janah,  
tava Mañjira-amāvalā[26] [Maṅga] lāhārasa s[ar]jan[ar]janah* ?

It will at once be seen that these legends are written in mixed Sanskrit and Pāli. But quite a large number of them are in pure Sanskrit, though they contain nothing besides the Buddhist laws. In fact whatever may be the language, the script is always the same: it is a medieval Nīpālī and proto-Bengalī of the period which we have suggested.

This can lead to one conclusion alone, and it is this: some sort of Buddhism of the northern variety, with Sanskrit as vehicle of expression, must have been in existence already before, and — some time after, the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism from Thailand by Anawraṭh, in many from which true Sanskrit was gradually superseded by Pāli.<sup>1</sup> It has long been recognised that Sanskrit was known in Pagan as the language of Brahmanical Brahmins and of Buddhist court-intellectuals and priests. In fact, Brahmanical and Sanskritic elements are abundantly clear in the Mon inscriptions of Burma. But the use of the same language in what are definitely Buddhist objects of worship cannot but lead to the conclusion just arrived at<sup>2</sup>, and the use of the Eastern Nīpālī and proto-Bengalī character lends support to the assumption. These scripts were the only varieties used during the 9<sup>th</sup>—13<sup>th</sup> centuries in the modern provinces

<sup>1</sup> *As. R.A.S.E.*, 1913, p. 21; *As. R.A.S.E.*, 1926—27, p. 281—82. Yüan tablets with one or other of these and similar legends bearing the name of *Amāvalāhārasa* have been found in temples and villages built by Anawraṭh himself.

<sup>2</sup> *As. R.A.S.E.*, 1921, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> This is probably intended in the half-Pāli half-Sanskrit language of the inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> '...It can easily be proved that Sanskrit, written, Mahāyāna and probably the Sāṅghīkī Mahāyāna and Brahmanical texts, were in use at Pagan before Anawraṭh'. — Darmapala, *Op. cit.*, II, p. 7. His proof however is poor, though the last is now recognised by all.

of Egypt and Tibet whence most of the tablets must have been brought to Europe<sup>1</sup>, even those that were moulded locally directly against Indian models from Straits, South-pyral, Nilandil and other centres as far east as Tipperah, in Eastern Bengal. These two countries, particularly the ancient Magadha country, were, in T'oung's time, as we have seen, strongholds of the Śarvāstivāda, but already from the eighth and ninth centuries onwards, seem to be dominated almost wholly by the Mahāyāna. Such parallel transition in the history of Buddhism we have also noticed in Further India and Indonesia<sup>2</sup>. It is therefore probable that the Śaśkrit Boddhisattva tablets, as evidenced in the writings of the various tablets, belonged to the Mahāyāna. This conclusion is confirmed by the writings of Tibetan scholars, notably Tharstona, to which we shall have occasion to recur.

Sanskrit Buddhism seems to have had a foothold in Pagan for at least two centuries — some of these tablets can paleographically be dated about the ninth century — when the Theravāda came to flourish strongly with it. We shall see that this conclusion, drawn from a study of the inscriptions, is corroborated not only by their more historical tradition as recorded in the chronicles, but also by literary and archaeological evidence.

## II

### SAHOKRIT TEXTS OF MAHAYANA AND SARVATYANA

It has been long recognised that Sanskrit texts, mostly Indic-

<sup>1</sup> Some of these tablets are often as late as the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, but the latter ones, though written in the same Magyā or post-Magyā characters, are usually in Pāli showing no doubt the increasing influence of the Theravāda Buddhism following the great schism appeared after the conquest of Thais. With regard to the importance of the tablets bearing inscriptions in Śaśkrit, M. Dandridge says: 'They point to an active intercourse between Burma and Southern China . . . They corroborate the tradition that consists of an chronicle that Śaśkrit Buddhism (meaning probably Theravāda Buddhism) did not exist in Pagan before Aśoka's time, or at least that it was not yet followed by the majority of the people who professed Mahāyāna and which at the very earliest, a form of Mahāyāna the scriptures of which are written in Śaśkrit'. *As. R. & S.*, 1914, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> See *op. cit.*, chap. I.

medical, were known in Burma. These texts related to such secular subjects as astrology, astronomy, medicine, rhetoric, poetics, law, political and military sciences, etc. They also included works on *Madhwaśāstri* (Tantra) and *Kāmalāśāstra*. That a store of Sanskrit learning existed from very early times is abundantly proved by Hindu-grammatical plants, poet-astronomers, and astrologers and ministers of the realm residing at the court of the Burmese kings was first pointed out by that pioneer scholar of Burmese antiquities, Mr. Forchhammer.<sup>1</sup> He wrote as early as 1816: "There exists a real Sanskrit literature in Burma, written on paper like India, with Hindi and Bengali characters. These records are in the hands of the descendants of Hindu colonists who at different periods, some even before the spread of Buddhism in Burma, settled in this country.... Burma deserves to be drawn within the circle of those countries where researches of Sanskrit records ought to be made."<sup>2</sup>

#### UNLAMENTED AND SANSKRIT LEARNING

Already in the earlier part of the last century, Mr. Forchhammer collected a number of inscriptions from Pagan, Pagan and Ava<sup>3</sup>, including one, dated B.E. 504 = 1421 A.D., which commemorates the birthday of a monarch with a garden, paddy/lands, slaves, and what is most important, a large collection of texts (numbering 202) upon the Buddhist Order by the governor of Bhamo and his wife.<sup>4</sup> The catalogue of books which is given in the inscription is extremely interesting as it shows in which subjects the monks were most interested and what was the general trend of their studies. As the list has been reproduced more than once<sup>5</sup>, we need not quote

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. IV, Introduction by Forchhammer, p. 17, also *Forchhammer's Report of Literary Work 1819-20*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Forchhammer, *ibid.* p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pagan and Ava Described* from the late inscriptions found among Forchhammer's papers, Singapore, 1820.

<sup>4</sup> Such gifts of books are recorded in many an inscription in Burma, but the most interesting thing of the inscriptions is that here we have one which example where a complete list of books is catalogued.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. *State Palaeography of Burma*, pp. 102-3; *Palmer's "Dawn of Burmese History"*, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1914, V, p. 117; *Rep. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1819, p. 117; *Rep. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1820, p. 117.

it again: "We notice here", Dr. Habel Fock remarks, "a number of titles of Sanskrit works, sometimes greatly distorted in the Burmese transcription, but still recognizable. These will lead us to learn some notion of the point reached by the Sanskrit scholars in Burma in the fifteenth century. We are not obliged to believe that such necessary standard students of Sanskrit, but we have at least some grounds for supposing that certain famous works on grammar, prosody, metres and so forth were treasured in Upper Burma."<sup>1</sup>

The inscription proves that even Buddhist monks were attracted to essentially Brahmanical texts on secular subjects, so may assume that they had study these texts along with their own sacred writings, as is proved not only by a considerable number of Burmese translations of several Sanskrit works but also by the honorific epithet *Paḷasāthakawā* ("expert in Paḷasātha") which was sometimes bestowed on certain monks. The *Sūtrasamāsa*<sup>2</sup> repeatedly refers to monks who were experts in Paḷasātha which, however, had nothing to do with Vedic texts, or even with Brahmanical religious literature. The term "Vedavitha" was used by Burmese monks to designate texts on astronomy, astrology, law, poetry, medicine, lexicography, grammar, rhetoric etc.<sup>3</sup> We do not know what contemporary opinion thought of these Paḷasāthakawā, but subsequently orthodox opinion, as represented by Pallabāsi, the author of the *Sūtrasamāsa*, did not hold them in respect, at least a certain section of the monastic order did not favour this Brahmanical learning. In fact, if the *Sūtrasamāsa* is to be believed, the Order frankly disapproved of them. According to Pallabāsi, these Paḷasāthakawā were deficient in the knowledge and practice of the religion (*pariyāyāpāyāna mānā*), and the correct chronicles did not consider them worthy of being reckoned in the *Śāstra-saṃgraha* (*Śāstra-saṃgraha* as *paṇḍit* *paṇḍit*)<sup>4</sup>

There is a point which is still more important in this catalogue and which has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars. This list contains at least four works that can be traced to Mahāyāna Buddhist

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 121, 122-123.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal* op. cit., entry by Pallabāsi, p. 121, *Parivāṇana* op. cit., pp.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* op. cit., pp. 121-122.

<sup>5</sup> *Sūtra* : ... p. 121.

texts and at least three, if not five, works that are definitely Tibetan. They are the following:

- (a) 177. *Nyāyabandha*  
 178. *Nyāyabandha-śāhī*  
 179. *Manu-bandha*  
 180. *Manu-bandha-śāhī*  
 (b) 181. *Māyāśāhī*  
 182. *Māhātmyāśāhī*<sup>1</sup>  
 183. *Māhātmyāśāhī* śāhī<sup>2</sup>

Presumably there are two more texts in the list which are Tibetan, though no clues at present trace them to their Indian originals. They are:

184. *Śāntarāhī*<sup>3</sup> [duplicated in no. 185]  
 185. *Śāntarāhī-śāhī*<sup>4</sup>

#### NOTES ON SACRIFICIAL LEGIT

The *Nyāyabandha* and *Manubandha* as well as the commentaries belonging to these two works are certainly treatises on Śaikhya yoga. The *Nyāyabandha* is the famous treatise on the subject by Ācārya Dharmakīrti (c. 650—690), a resident of South India in the kingdom of Cōlāhāt (probably Coia or Coja country), and a disciple of Ācārya Dharmapāla. There are at least two commentaries on the *Nyāyabandha* called *Nyāyabandha-śāhī*, one by Viśvadeva (c. 675) of Nīlandī, and another by Ācārya Dharmottara of Kashmir (c. 850)<sup>5</sup>. The earliest original of Viśvadeva's work is lost, but a Tibetan translation of it exists in the *Tanpān*, *Mān*, *Śān*, *śāhī* 2—4. The translation was due to the collaboration of the Indian scholar Jñānānanda and his Tibetan colleague *Yontso-ka-ka*. The original of Dharmottara's work was preserved in the *Jama* temple of Śāntarāhī, Garbhā. It is difficult to decide which of these two texts is the one mentioned in the list. The *Manubandha-śāhī*<sup>6</sup> is a

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that these five names are given in three Pāli lists, viz. *Māyāśāhī* in an ancient Śākhya list.

<sup>2</sup> The *Śāntarāhī* and its works are, for example, S.Ā. 1000000000, *Pāṇini* *Śāntarāhī* *Śāhī* pp. 107—111.

<sup>3</sup> *Śānt*, pp. 120—121.

<sup>4</sup> *Śānt*, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Śānt*, p. 120.

detailed commentary on the *Mañjuśrī* of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the *Samgāy*, *Mūl*, *Shā*, *Kāśā* 125—205, it was prepared as a result of the collaboration of Pañjikārasa and Dyañ-śrāgata-śāstra.

Buddhist logic is known to have developed among the brotherhood of those who owed their allegiance to the Mahāyāna and its allied creeds, and the above texts were works of Mahāyāna writers. Their influence is a fact in which Pāli works partake, as, therefore, is shown.

#### SAHICHI TEXTS

Three other books named above are definitely Tantric. We do not know of any Tantric Buddhist text called *Mūyavastava*, though evidently a text of the name must have existed. Its Tantric nature follows from the fact that the term "Mūyavastava" is employed to designate a well-known theory peculiar to both Buddhist and Śākhian Tantric philosophy "Mūyavastava" or "Mūyavastava" is a Tantric technical term and conveys invariably a Tantric meaning.<sup>1</sup>

*Mahābhāṣya* or *Mahābhāṣya* and its *Shā* must also have been Tantric texts. In the Descriptive Catalogue of the Sacred Manuscripts in the Government Collection, A. S. Bangal, we have two texts from Nepal catalogued as *Lopśākhāyānābhāṣya-śā* (no. 66) and *Lopśākhāyānābhāṣya-śā* (no. 67), otherwise known as *Pañjikāśā*.<sup>2</sup> The two *Lopśā* naturally presuppose the existence of a *Mahābhāṣya* and a *Mahābhāṣya-śā* which are exactly the titles included in our list.<sup>3</sup> *Kāśā* texts are definitely

<sup>1</sup> For "Mūyavastava", see Bangal, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sacred Manuscripts*, III, 1922, p. 17, items 11, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27.

<sup>2</sup> The two *Mūy* belong to the reign of King Narayana-deva of Nepal and are dated before 1000.

<sup>3</sup> I have stated above that *Mūyavastava* cannot at present be definitely identified, but some *Mūyavastava* texts are quite well-known in Tibetan Buddhist literature. The latest collection of Tibetan Buddhist texts (*The Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Printed Canon: Pāli-āgama and Sūtra-āgama*) published by the Tibetan Imperial University, Japan, 1924 contains Tibetan translations of about four such texts. They are: 1) *Mūyavastava śāstra* (Pāli-āgama) (*Mūyavastavaśāstra*), in 1200, 2)





acception attaches little value, is now confirmed by the actual existence of Mahilyon and Kalasika texts in Shana.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tenzinpa's false account of location in Burma will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

## CHAPTER THREE

### GODS AND GODDESSES OF NORTHERN BUDDHISM

We now come to more definite evidences of Mahāyāna, Bodhisattva and allied cults in Burma. They are attested by a considerable number of images in stone and brass acquired from the ruins mainly of Hinayana and Pagan as well as by numerous paintings on the walls of the temples of Pagan depicting what can be identified as Mahāyāna and Bodhisattva. Texts describe the number of such deities, it is true, is not as large as it is in Java or Kamboja, or in any other Indianized countries of South-East Asia, nor are the facts so representative of the pantheon. In fact, so far as can be determined at present, we meet with Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, Lokiteśa who is but another name of Avalokiteśvara, Hayagrīva, Vajrapāni, and one or two other minor deities, for example, Jambhāni, and a small group of Tāntic gods and goddesses mainly recognizable by their significant attributes in pairs. Among these Lokiteśa seems to have been a very popular deity, a fact which we notice also in Kamboja, with Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya closely following. The images are mostly small, and a few of them had probably been imported, but on most of them the local stamp is evident. As to the paintings on the walls of temples, their testimony leaves no doubt; they are the one positive proof of the existence, in the heart of the Burmese capital, of a considerable number of Bodhisattvas following the Mahāyāna and its allied cults. Even the imported images are significant, for there would have been no necessity for their importation if no one wanted them. What is interesting in this connection is that a very large number of these sculptures, and almost the whole group of paintings may definitely be dated after the conversion of the Thāgavādi by Anurādhita in 1057 A. D., consequently the Mahāyāna and its allied cults were important factors in the religious life of Pagan even after

the great Thorwulfid reveals which the local chronicles called *Barrow* chronicles and annals, it is true, ignore its existence, only in a few instances do they allude to the existence of a heterodox sect as a disturbing element in the religious life of the people.

#### ANALOGUES

Single images of *Arvalokiteivras* are very rare in Iceland, in fact only about half-a-dozen definitely identifiable have been brought to light. One is preserved in the *Árlanda* Museum, Reykjavik, and another has been recovered from the ruins of *Hinnarinn*. The former is a small bronze image standing in a slight *tréttanga* pose with the right hand in *vevula-mátt*, and the left holding a *litrá-staf*. In front of the torso we notice the usual figure of *Arvalfótr* with his hands resting on his lap.<sup>1</sup> The second example, also from *Hinnarinn*, is a well-associated bronze which on account of its style may be ascribed to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The god is shown standing in the *tréttanga* pose; of his four arms the two on the left are *vevula* *þing*; one of the hands on the right was probably in the *atþanga-mátt* the other holding some unrecognizable object. But the high *vevula* like head-down with the figure of *Arvalfótr* leaves no doubt as to the identity of the image.<sup>2</sup> Two more images which may be identified as two different forms of *Arvalokiteivras* are also known from *Hinnarinn*. One is a small standing image of bronze very badly damaged, the portion below the waist is missing, the left fore-arm and the entire right arm have gone. The image is richly adorned with ornaments, including a high *vevula*.<sup>3</sup> Any definite identification must be absent, and though we can not be certain that it represents *Arvalokiteivras*, there is no doubt that here we have an image of a *Þráttarvev*. But the six-handed image made of thin gold plate and recovered from the *Víkingarinn* excavation is definitely identifiable as one of the various forms of *Arvalokiteivras*. The god is seated in *húttanga*, two of his hands are in the *vevula*- or *vevula*-*þing*-*vevula*-*þing*, and the remaining ones carry respectively a lotus with a staff, a sword, a trident and an unknown object which may be a

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. N.S. S.P.*, 1904, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. N.S. S.P.*, 1905-1906, pt. LXXIII, fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1906-1907, p. 107.

stone or a roary.<sup>1</sup> According to the Sinhalese there are actually no less than ten of the six-banded form of *Avatibhavana*, viz., *Khasarpaya*, *Mahāma*, *Hambantota*, *ConceSSION*, *Lehavana* and *Schilava*, *Lehavana*.<sup>2</sup> But the present image does not exactly conform to the *āḍya* attributed to any of them. Of these six *Khasarpaya* and *Schilava* *Lehavana* are noted in *Atthakāma*, the one point in which the present image agrees with the *āḍya*.

#### MATREYA

*Matreya* is the only Bodhisattva worshipped in Burma both by Hinayana and Mahayana, his worship seems to have been very popular. In Burmese inscriptions he is frequently mentioned as *Matteyya*, the Pāli form of his name; the supreme wish of the founder of a pagoda or other religious edifice, and the donor of lands, or books or other material necessities, 'to behold *Matteyya*', as in the *Śālisthāyā* inscription of King *Asanavajit*, or 'to obtain salvation in the presence of the Lord Buddha *Matteya*', as in the inscription of the Lady *Anandavajit*, daughter of *Trisambhava*, *Mahāma* *Sandhā*, queen of *Jayavar*. Bodhisattva *Matreya* also figures in a few Pāli-Sanskrit inscriptions on various tablets of King *Anandavajit* and other important passages of Pagan. There is an example:

*Matteyyavajitā-dāyā* *Atthā*, *Atthā* *Matteyya*-*āḍya*  
*Atthāyā* *Atthā* [?] *Atthā*.

By me, [King] *Anandavajit* [the world of *Sugata*] has been made, through this [good deed] may I obtain the path of *Nirvāṇa*, when *Matteyya* is fully enlightened (?) a . when Bodhisattva *Matreya* will have become a Buddha.

*Matreya* is also mentioned in certain short *Tāṇḍya* inscriptions written on the walls of some of the temples of Pagan, along with *Lehavana* or *Avatibhavana*. The image of *Matreya* in a monastic garb, very similar to that of *Guṇama*, is still very common in Burma.

Out of two single images of *Matreya*, one also known in Burma. The ruins of Pagan have yielded a most beautiful bronze image

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 1901—70, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *J. B. R. I.*, 1901, II, 1, p. 111.

of Maitreya, it bears a mutilated inscription in Pyu of which the syllables *Ma-hi-ya* (to be read *Ma* in Pyu) *hi-ya-ho-mo-ka* used with respect to kings and deities, and *Ma-hi-ya* is evidently Maitreya; the inscription must refer to the image on which it is engraved.

The Mahla-ma image of Anlon, a gilt image of large proportions possibly representing Maitreya, at least there are two early Burmese chronicles, the *Maharaja Van Vanak* (vol. I, p. 205) and the *Pagan King Van Tai* (fol. no. 94) of the Revised Piss Library, Rangoon, which state that it is an image of Maitreya.<sup>1</sup>

#### AVALOKITESVARA AND VISHVAMITRA

In Burma as elsewhere these two Bodhisattvas are often placed on both sides of the Buddha as his attendants or court-bearers. In fact, examples of stone reliefs with similar representations are so numerous, both from Hinayana and Pagan, that they can hardly have exclusively belonged to the Mahayana. In some instances these reliefs form an integral part of the decoration of temples belonging to the Theravada. Evidently both Avalokitesvara and Vaisrava were adopted, no doubt as subordinate deities, in the Theravada pantheon (if Theravada can be said at all to have a pantheon) of Burma, as the same manner as Indra and Brahma of the Indian and pantheon were in the early Hinayana.

At Hinayana a piece of stone sculpture was found in which a standing Buddha figure is flanked by two court-bearers decked with elaborate ornaments and each crowned with a *ushabha*.<sup>2</sup> These attendants may be safely identified as Maitreya and Avalokitesvara, in accordance with local traditions. The emerald-studded Yathomya, a locality in Old Prome, yielded an *igro* a *voira* tablet<sup>3</sup> on the obverse of which is the figure of the Buddha with an aureoled head. On his right is a small deity, and on his left is an object which looks like a flower. The pose of the Buddha is quite unorthodox according to Burmese ideas, and appears to be like that of *Avulokitesvara*. The palms of both hands rest on the knees, and the right

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* *B. A. S. S.*, 1900, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, 1900, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* *B. A. S. S.*, 1901—02, p. 112, pl. 127, 2.

feet hang down. . . . On the proper right of the Buddha is a legend in Sanskrit . . . . The square base is divided into two panels. On the upper the Buddha is depicted in a sitting attitude, and is flanked by two Bodhisattvas. All the three figures have unclothed heads. The upper portion of the central figure is flanked by a stripe and a lotus flower supported by its stalk which is apparently held by each Bodhisattva. . . . On the lower panel is represented the Buddha in a sitting attitude with both hands restrained. He is flanked by two female figures, each carrying a lotus flower in either hand. The female on the left side of the Buddha is better dressed than the one on the right. She wears a long mantle which is divided in front and exposes a part of the breast. This two panels are divided by a line in Sanskrit legend". As I could not trace the tablet among the finds at Old Pura, it was impossible to verify the identification of the Buddha figure on the obverse as *Arachchidattava* as of those two figures flanking the Buddha on the reverse face. Obviously they are creations of the Northern School of Buddhism, as is proved by the two Sanskrit legends, not yet published, on the two faces of the tablet. The two female figures holding lotus stalks are also significant.

The Pagan excavations of 1927<sup>1</sup> yielded a small bronze tablet representing three figures each of which is seated on a lotus-throne and is surrounded by a stripe. The central figure, that of the Buddha, is seated cross-legged and is flanked on the two sides by two seated figures. The one on the right is seated cross-legged with his right hand in *Mudraparivardha* and the left placed on the lap holding probably an alms bowl. The figure on the left is seated in *Padmasana* with the right hand hanging down over the right knee, and the left resting on the corresponding knee. The two figures undoubtedly represent *Maitreya* and *Arachchidattava*.

In the same year a terracotta votive tablet was also recovered from the same site representing a similar triad the Buddha between *Maitreya* and *Arachchidattava*.<sup>2</sup>

Another stone sculpture representing the Buddha flanked by the same Bodhisattvas was recovered from the Suddhangya, Monastery, Tawata.<sup>3</sup> The Buddha is seated with his right hand in *mudra-parivardha*

<sup>1</sup> *AS. E.A.S.E.*, 1927, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

and his left as *wasala-mahat*. The lotus stamps them definitely as *Boddhisattvas* but it is uncertain whether they are *Avakshitava* and *Maipuzi* flanking the *Boddhi Dhyana*, or *Avakshitava* and *Maipuzi* flanking the *Boddhi Gotama* ?

In a niche of the *Aranda* temple, there is a relief showing a standing *Boddhi* flanked by two figures with elaborate ornaments and a *wasala*. Such groups are frequent in Burma, and if we attempt to identify these ornamented and crowned standing figures as *Avakshitava* and *Maipuzi*, look towards *vajra* tablets and their reliefs are in certain instances inscribed with Sanskrit legends which are available in Eastern Nepal texts. This also seems to connect them with Northern Buddhism.<sup>1</sup>

Pagan has yielded a human statuette representing the *Boddhi* seated in a *wasala-mahat* on a *lotus-throne* and flanked by two *Boddhisattvas*, evidently *Avakshitava* and *Maipuzi*. Both of them are seated in *ahimsana*, a favourite attitude for *Boddhisattvas*. Each of these attendants hold a *lotus* with a long stalk in their left hand, while the right is in *wasala-mahat*. The pedestal of the throne shows in relief two goddesses seated face to face on both sides of the *ahimsana*; the subject that refers undoubtedly to the famous event in the Deer Park of Benares. The head of the *Boddhi* is surrounded by an aureole schematically arranged in a decorative *lotus* design, and the round niche is framed with flame designs at the sides and with a *chakra* design at the top. It is significant that the two figures are ornamented and crowned.

### THEE

A few images of *Thee* are also known from Burma. A small lacquer image of the goddess has been found near *Muawapon* village in *Myittha* township of the *Magway* district. She is seated cross-legged on a *lotus-throne* with her right hand *wasala-mahat* and her left which is in *wasala-mahat* holds the *trystika* of a *lotus-flower*. She wears *ankhita*, *harukhita*, *ankhita*, a *vanhita* arrangement and a crown. Her hair is arranged in a *kaat* on the back of her head.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a similar tablet see, *ib. B. J. I.*, 1909—10, pl. LX, fig. 4, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *ib. B. J. I.*, 1910, p. 21—22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, p. 2.



Another image of Tish which is now preserved in the Anadolu Museum, Paris, can be easily recognized by her attitude.<sup>1</sup>

The excavations at Hama, have also yielded a small terracotta tablet representing an image of Tish standing in a graceful *bellino-attitude*; the two hands hold identical objects. A similar line in Hiyar excavations around the image.<sup>2</sup> The style of the tablet suggests importation from Sindh or Malabar with which places ancient Phoenicia maintains contact during the 9<sup>th</sup>—10<sup>th</sup> centuries. On account of the style the tablet may be assigned to the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

#### *Malpotef*

At least one image of Malpotef is known to us, in the Anadolu Museum, Paris, which is a repository of a good number of important finds, there is a stone sculpture representing the well known figure of the Babylonian Malpotef seated in the *supraplymika attitude*. His right hand holds the sword which he swings over his head to dispel the darkness of ignorance, the left hand which generally holds the book of knowledge is unfortunately broken. His curly hair reaches at the top in a pointed shape.<sup>3</sup> The characteristics of the image conform exactly to the *Malpotef* describing the *Arpaxana* variety of Malpotef. As many as eight *Malpotef* in the *Malpotef* are devoted to the description of this variety. He is always described as seated in the *supraplymika attitude*, clasping the sword in his right hand, and applying the *Propylidion* book against his chest, in the left. He is sometimes accompanied by four minor divinities: *Katol*, *Upkatal*, *Landupakal* and *Sirupakal*, and the four *Diyat-Pakal*: *Yarucan*, *Karmanahava*, *Amelkha* and *Acupakalika*. The present image is, however, represented single, and may be compared with an almost identical image in limestone from Hama which instead of holding the book in front of the chest, clasps the staff of a tree on which the book is placed.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. R. A. S. I.*, 1929-30, p. 120, pl. LX figs 2a, 2b.

<sup>2</sup> Anadolu Museum, Tablet no. N. 1 2 2 2 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, *Revue Géographique* 22 11-12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XVII, 2.

## JAMHUKA

Among the many Hittite clay tablets Jamhuka is in all probability represented by the remnants of an image recovered from the ruins of Hittawa. The excavations at the ancient city gate situated near the village of Kizilirmak yielded fragments of what was once a large-sized stone image. On account of the protruding abdomen and the elaborate ornaments, M. Darnaud rightly identified it as Jamhuka.<sup>1</sup>

In the same spot were found fragments of terracotta tablets each of which bears a standing figure covered with a wreath and having four hands with some unrecognisable object in each. It may be assumed that they represent Bodhisattvas on account of their dress and ornaments as well as their attitudes. The ruins of Hittawa yielded in 1924-25, a large-sized stone sculpture (H<sup>1</sup> 7<sup>1</sup> = 4<sup>1</sup> 17<sup>1</sup> = 2<sup>1</sup> 17<sup>1</sup>) which may definitely be identified as a Bodhisattva, though on account of the very damaged condition of the sculpture and the absence of any distinctive mark, we cannot identify it more definitely. It wears a mitre-shaped headdress, wreaths and anklets, and is seated on a throne with the right knee raised and the left leg placed on a level with the throne, in an attitude resembling *abhihita*. The left hand rests on the left knee, the right is raised. The figure seems to be seated in a niche representing a temple, capped by a lobed roof which is adorned with fan-shaped ornaments. In a panel below the throne are four gnomons two on each side of an object which looks like a mirror, all are seated with one knee raised, and are holding in one hand the end of a club placed on the shoulder. Above, and flanking the Bodhisattva are two small seated figures, probably representing royal deities.<sup>2</sup>

A fragment of a terracotta votive tablet representing a four-armed Bodhisattva is also known from Hittawa. But here too the absence of any significant attribute renders it difficult to identify the image. The god is seated in *abhihita*, one of the two left arms is broken off at the shoulder, the other, half of which has disappeared, rests on the left knee. The upper right hand is applied to the chest and holds an non-descript object, the other hangs down at the side. On the

<sup>1</sup> *As. N. S. S. I.*, 1925, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *As. N. S. S. I.*, 1925-26, pp. 17-18.

right extremity of the pedestal is a kneeling figure in woman's-robes and shawl, a tiny deity. The connection of the image with the Northern School of Buddhism is further attested to by a short Sanskrit epigraph recording the Buddhist formula in Eastern Mani script on the face of the pedestal.<sup>1</sup>

#### ARTIST'S

The Indian-style Lokeshvara seems to have been more popular than other Mahayana deities which are only incidentally known and were once worshipped in Burma, and his images are more numerous than those of any other god of the same pantheon. Thus, the Asiatic Museum, Paris, shows two bronze images of this Bodhisattva seated on lotus-throne. In each case the right hand is in the varada-mudra and the left gracefully holds the stalk of a lotus-flower. On the right and left side there rise the stout stalks of lotus-flower in a delicate curve ending in flowers and foliage. Both figures are richly ornamented with necklaces, wristbands, bangles, armlets, bracelets and anklets which are all elaborately, though not very delicately, modelled. Their heads are crowned with a jata-mukuta consisting of long locks of curly hair. The iconographic features of these two images conform exactly to the sikhana devoted to the Lokeshvara variety of Avalokitesvara. Of the four sikhana, three represent him as single, and prescribe that the Bodhisattva should have two hands carrying the lotus in the left and exhibiting the varadamudra in the right. He may sit in three attitudes according to the three different sikhana, the lotus, the pyramidal and ardhaparyanka.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the three sikhana in which Lokeshvara is represented alone, there is a fourth which describes him as accompanied by Tirth and Nagayitra as well as by eight other gods, four goddesses and four devaputras so that the sikhana describes the whole mandala of Lokeshvara. The principal figure, white in colour, is described as two handed, the left holding a lotus and the right exhibiting varadamudra. He sits in the lotus attitude, to his right is Tirth who has a peaceful appearance, exhibits the varadamudra and carries

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211-12.

<sup>2</sup> *Manuśārya, Pūjārā Aranyaka* p. 38-40. These images were up to now usually identified as Mani, which is entirely a mistake.

the lotus. To the left is Haryagriva who exhibits the act of bowing and carries the staff in his two hands.<sup>1</sup> These two representations of Lokeshvara with attendant deities that do not exactly conform to the prescribed scheme. Thus, we know at least two miniature paintings, both from Bengal, representing Lokeshvara standing in the *Abhaya* pose with the left hand holding the staff of a lotus and the right in *vandita-mudra*. One of them which is inscribed *Comptable Lokeshvara Samanta varadhana* represents Tara standing to his right with smaller attributes, and Haryagriva to his left. Two celestial deities are represented in the sky on both sides of the head of Lokeshvara.<sup>2</sup> The other example which is inscribed *Comptable-Lokeshvara-Satyabhakta* represents Tara and Haryagriva both seated in a graceful attitude, the former with his hands joined in prayer, and the latter holding the staff of a lotus.<sup>3</sup> We know yet another inscribed miniature painting of Lokeshvara, also from Bengal, in which he is represented as standing and six-handed. M. Foucher describes it as follows: "Indraivata, white, standing with six arms, the right hands (1) in charity [*varada-mudra*] (2) holding the lotus, (3) the rosary, the left hands (4) in charity, (5) indicating object; (6) the book; four assistants to the right, (7) a jester laughing with a large belly, long hook-shaped mouth, nose yellow, a green [female] Indraivata, etc., Tara, ... On the left (8) red, (9) yellow with two hands [*both Tara*]"<sup>4</sup> The miniature as inscribed *Harivardana dha-Lokeshvara*, therefore, there can be no doubt as to its being identical with Indraivata-Lokeshvara, though it does not, nor do the two described above, conform to the scheme of the divinity.

On the left wall of the vestibule of the Kabanjipi temple, Haryagriva, Pagan, there is a more than life-size painting of a divinity which from an iconographical point of view resembles the god represented on the miniature paintings of Bengal referred to above. The painting covers almost the entire wall, and the central portion is occupied by a large-sized white-coloured figure, standing

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51-52.

<sup>2</sup> *Contemporary Orient* VII No. 461 (1913) For note and illus., see *Harivardana, Indralata and Indraivata* Descriptions on the Great Museum, pp. 10-102, pp. 124. Foucher *Iconographie Indologique* I, p. 104 pl. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *J. B. Bengal* (1875) no. 63. For note and illus., see *Ibid.*, p. 14 pl. II 20.

<sup>4</sup> Foucher *Iconographie Indologique* I, pp. 105, 106, 107.



preserved in the Jangada Museum, Pagan. It is a stone sculpture representing a male and female figure embracing each other. Both figures are two-headed, the male being seated as the *suprajyoti-dhama*. This sculpture evidently represents a Mahayana deity with his deity in the well-known *yab-yum* position. The attributes on their heads are not clear, but it is permissible to identify the image tentatively as Vajrasattva who is the north *Dhyani-Buddha*, and is regarded by the *Vajrateloga* of Nepal as the parent of the group of the five *Dhyani-Buddhas*. When represented as *yab-yum*, he is closely associated with his deity as consort, and is represented as seated as *suprajyotishama*.<sup>1</sup>

**PARA-TRAI-OR AKA KARDANALIA, PANTHON TASTRIC MOUNTAINS AND NEIGHBOURS**

Among archaeological materials which are important in affording evidence of the existence of the Mahayana in Burma, we have now dealt with sculptures, bronzes and terracotta tablets, and a few examples of paintings representing Mahayana divinities. Incidentally we have mentioned inscriptions which contain that evidence.

A still more detailed source is provided by a long series of paintings found on the walls of a group of temples of Pagan. These paintings represent gods and goddesses that are evidently Tastric in character, and though it is not yet possible to identify them all with certainty, their affiliation to the Tastric Mahayana pantheon is perfectly clear. It is curious that nearly all these paintings are found on the walls of temples at *Mian-an-din*, a small village to the north-west of the main city of Pagan. Here we find the remains of a number of temples and monasteries the walls of which are covered with some of the best preserved frescoes in Burma, executed to serve the needs of a particular form of Buddhist worship, a sect of Mahayana Tastrism. Other inscriptions in and around the ruined city of Pagan also showed in temples and monasteries containing such paintings, but their subject-matter, except in a few instances can hardly be described as Mahayana or Tastric. It seems therefore that *Mian-an-din* was the centre of the Tastric Mahayana sect which here had its monasteries and places of worship.

<sup>1</sup> *Manuscripta*, op. cit. pp. 4-5, pl. II, col.

It is not unlikely that after the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism into Pagan, and its subsequent official adoption by the State and the people, the adherents of those Northern Buddhist cults were obliged to withdraw from the heart of the city to the outskirts where in their own temples they continued to practise the ritual of their particular cult, thus would explain why rarely, if not at all, their pictorial relics are found in that one locality.

The most interesting group from our point of view consists of three small square temples together called the *Paga-thon-na*, and the fourth, a few hundred yards from the *Peyayethon-na*, called the *Naadhamoddi*. The three temples of the *Paga-thon-na* each consist of a vaulted vestibule and vaulted corridors encircling the four sides of a solid square structure of brickwork covered by a *stikka*. The three temples are joined by two narrow vaulted passages leading from the first to the second and from the second to the third. On the walls of the eastern most of the three shrines there is a series of paintings representing Bodhisattvas embracing their respective *dhāra* or *concocts*. Some of them are shown holding a *dhāra* in each arm, their dress is invariably womanly, they wear coloured and patterned skirts, elaborate ornaments and richly jewelled crowns, and their poses and attitudes are calm and suggestive. Others are represented as seated with one *dhāra* on one knee or two, one worked on each knee. Some of the Bodhisattvas appear to have two hands only, but in several instances they have four and even six and eight hands holding different attributes and exhibiting various *ambhā*. I have not succeeded in tracing the *ambhā* which would name these Bodhisattvas with their *dhāra*, though the allegorical nature is evident, as but not one of these representations agrees in all details with any particular *ambhā* describing Bodhisattvas accompanied by their *dhāra*.

In one of the ponds of the *Paga-thon-na*, two exactly similar Bodhisattvas stand side by side in a slightly crouched but graceful *dhāra* pose. They wear the usual short skirt, ornaments and the richly decorated crown. Each of them has eight hands, two of which are held before the chest in what appears to be *dharmachakra* or *spādhya*-wheel, the remaining three on the left hold attributes just as the three on the right and these are what seem to be a flower (it resembles neither the lotus nor the *ajitakāra*), the leaves of a

palms-foot feet, and third, an enigmatic object which may either be a shield or a rosary. Two figures stand on two sides in the attitude of adoration. The whole panel is very interesting from an iconographical point of view, but our present knowledge of the pantheon of Northern Buddhism does not allow us to identify them. In this temple also, there is one figure with three faces seated in *jambhavana* and provided with four hands holding attributes that are hardly recognizable. This figure may tentatively be identified with a variety of Maityas, or with either of the two varieties of *Shyamsa*, *Namasakta* and *Mahajambhava*.<sup>1</sup>

The central temple of the *Paga-thon-ou* group also has on its walls a fresco representing a seated Bodhisattva embracing two *dhitis* on two sides. It is a striking feature of these frescoes which was first pointed out by M. Dussinelle, that, whereas a few of these Bodhisattvas have unmistakable *Samvara* features, the *dhitis* they embrace are unmistakably Indian.<sup>2</sup>

In the same group of temples there are several representations of a two-handed deity standing in graceful *ambhaja* attitude with one of his hands, either the right or the left (in accordance with his position to the right or left of the main image in the niche), in *spaldhaya-sambh* and the other clasping the neck of a *vajrasakara*?<sup>3</sup> creature. He is decked with elaborate ornaments from head to foot, and is dressed in a beautiful garment that flows from his hips to his ankles.<sup>4</sup> That he represents a Bodhisattva is certain, but one can hardly be more sure about his identification.

On one of the walls of the eastern-most temple of the *Paga-thon-ou* group, to the right of a large niche, now empty, there is a vertical panel containing three separate rectangles representing different subjects.<sup>5</sup> The topmost and the lowermost rectangles each represent a Bodhisattva standing in a *tribhanga* pose, with two *dhitis* clinging on two sides, an oft-repeated scene in the *Paga-thon-ou* and *Hindunville* Temples. The rectangle at the middle represents however a very interesting deity standing in a slight *tribhanga* attitude

<sup>1</sup> *Stambhavarjya*, *op. cit.* pls. 211B, 217A, 221A.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.* p. 104, fig. 100-101.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Arch. Bur. Burma*, photographs no. 41/2007 (1906-1908), 24/242a (1902-03).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Arch. Bur. Burma*, photographs no. 24/242a (1902-03).



Besides his usual wealth of princely decorations and garments, he is adorned with ten beads, two of which are clasped in adoration in front of his chest, evidently in respect to the deity in the sanctum. The attributes in his eight other hands cannot unfortunately be ascertained. Two figures, presumably females, seated with folded hands, on his two sides. The known attributes of Buddhist iconography seem to agree exactly to its description. Though it is evident that the deity must belong to the red pantheon of the Vajrayāna. This in all the more significant, for it shows how little we know of the numerous gods and goddesses of this pantheon from written texts.

The paintings on the walls of the Nardamaitika represent similar subjects, and are in some instances characterized by a much more sensual attitude. A large panel is exclusively devoted to the representation of a group of women in most voluptuous poses. An inscription set up within the precincts of the Nardamaitika itself throws welcome light on the debased kind of Buddhism which these paintings seem to illustrate. Its purport is that the Nardamaitika temple was built at the instance of King Nangpatadita, a devoted Theravāda and the founder of the celebrated Sravastya and the Theravāda Temple, in the Śālikara (— 1141 A. D.), and it also refers to the monks who lived there by in a monastery, the remains of which can still be seen not very far from the temple itself. It further states that out of the revenues of the land dedicated to the temple the monks residing in the monastery were daily provided, morning and evening, with sweet rice, hotel and a jar of spirit. Taking food in the evening, partaking of meat, and drinking spirit were particularly observed to the Theravāda which these monks certainly were not. Such practices of daily life seem rather to connect them with one of those later forms of Northern Buddhism which were largely influenced by Tantric rituals and practices, and the paintings seem to confirm that assumption. But what is even more curious is the fact recorded in the same inscription that Nangpatadita asked one of his ministers to build this temple and the monastery attached to it, and that he sent King Anshu, the Theravāda prince of the realm and the man who had brought the Theravāda to Pagan, to Yunnanam to bring a sacred relic to be deposited in the temple which probably was associated with a Tantric cult of the Mahāvairocana. This is an unique example of the spirit of idolatry that

erected at that time in the great metropolis of Burma, or shall we say, of the collection of the Buddhas of Pagan which, though decidedly Theravāda, was largely moulded and coloured not only by the primitive ways and spirit worship but also by Yāntric Hinduism. It is not surprising that the new religion in trying to absorb the already existing Mahāyāna and Tāntric cults would attempt compromises here and there, and in that process be itself influenced by them. But in this respect of the problem we shall turn at the end of our study in any case, these temples and the paintings on their walls, but most of all the inscription of the year 1144, failed to show, prove not only that the Theravāda flourished in Pagan side by side with these Mahāyāna and Tāntric cults, but also that the latter had considerable hold on the people and the court. The support and patronage of Narapatiarāma and the prince San Arhan, both devout Theravādas, are significant.

We have already stressed the fact that the Nandamūrti is iconographically much more interesting than the Paṇḍita-mūrti. The deities depicted on its rock walls are much more exotic, and Tāntric in character, and represent a greater variety. Besides the paintings described above, we have a number of representations of a divinity standing alone (without accompanied by his deity), richly jewelled, with one of his hands in *varhita* or *abhaya*-*mudrā*, and the other clasping the stalk of a flower-crozier.<sup>1</sup> This divinity, evidently a Bodhisattva, is not definitely identifiable. But there is one representation of a god in one of the vertical panels which seem to lend itself to a more or less definite identification. The panel is vertical and is divided into three rectangles, in the topmost one, the Buddha in *varhita*-*mudrā* is represented as seated in *vajra*-*paṇḍita* posture according to his two disciples seated on two sides. The middle rectangle presumably represents the well-known episode of the subjection of the Viśvavajrapāṇi. The lowermost rectangle shows a divinity seated in what resembles the *andhāparyāyā* or *madhāparyāyā* attitude with his left hand in the *varhita*-*mudrā* and the right hand raised upwards holding the stalk of a flower-crozier. A winged female with beaded hands seems to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Art. in Burma photographs no. 11500 (1911-12), 12100 (1911-12).

was upon him to the right. No witness seems to agree with its description, but one may tentatively identify it with either *Mahabib-jahil Mahquf* or *Lokmaha*.<sup>1</sup> There is almost exactly a mirror representation in a corresponding panel on the other side of the particular niche of the temple.<sup>2</sup>

TRAPOLA AND ANTYBANA TEMPLES *STALAKHTHAFAN MAHQUB LOUKHAMA*

Besides the *Papa-theo-an* and the *Nanderoulla* which were evidently favorite resorts of the followers of the Mahayana and other allied cults, there still stand in the midst of the ruins at Fajou several other temples which bear testimony to the sects prevailing Mahayana and its allied cults. I have already mentioned one or two such temples but there are others still, notable among them are the *Theodota* and the *Abeyadana*. On a wall of the eastern porch of the *Theodota* Temple,<sup>3</sup> Minousha, there is a painting representing a divinity seated cross-legged in an abhaya position.<sup>4</sup> He is richly decked with ornaments and is crowned with a coronal wreath with Samboyan designs. His right hand is in *vishvavambha* and the left is in what may be called *varada-mudra*. Floral crests flourish in delightful curves on both his sides. The representation does not really lead itself to an identification, though one readily recognizes here a *Bodhisattva*, perhaps *Avalokitesvara*. On a wall of the temple at the south-east corner of a field near the *Santagya* Pagoda *Myssapava* there is a representation of a standing *Bodhisattva*, almost exactly similar in decorative and iconographical details to those we have already noticed on the walls of the *Papa-theo-an* and the *Nanderoulla*.<sup>5</sup> Artistically a better representation of the same divinity can be seen in a painting on a wall of another little known temple<sup>6</sup> in Fajou. The attributes and mudras of the

<sup>1</sup> *Idem*, no. 547897 (1921-22)

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, no. 547898 (1921-22)

<sup>3</sup> Said to have been built in 1299 A.D. by Theodota, queen of Uman, King of Fajou. *Journal of the Asiatic Museum in Berlin*, 1912, p. 10

<sup>4</sup> *Asia for Europe*, photographic no. 123264 (1922-23)

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, no. 522426 (1922-23)

<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, I could not get the name of this temple. It does not seem to have been entered in the list of the Archaeological Survey of Egypt.

heads slightly differ in the present ones,<sup>1</sup> but it may not be very wrong to identify all similar paintings as representing Avadhutivara who seems to have been the most popular Bodhisattva in Burma. It is not also unlikely that they may also be identified with either Maiteya or Mahipati. The positions they occupy on the walls have some significance in this respect. Each wall is generally provided with a deep niche at the centre which must have once sheltered a statue or least image of the Buddha, as fact, in several instances these images can still be seen occupying their respective places. On the outer wall of the two sides of the niche are to be seen two large paintings representing, as described above, two standing divinities in almost identical attitudes, with similar dress and ornaments. That one of them is Avadhutivara, and the other Maiteya or Mahipati, there can be no doubt; but it is not easy to see which one represents Avadhutivara and which one Maiteya or Mahipati. There is nothing in their attitudes or in their attitudes to distinguish them.

A most interesting temple is the Abayadana<sup>2</sup> at Myingagan. In the niches exposed around the walls of the corners of this temple one can still see some beautiful stone images of the Buddha seated in conventional medita, on its walls there are considerable examples of paintings, some of the very best we find in Burma, representing Buddhist subjects in which gods and goddesses of Northern Buddhistism predominate, and what is no less interesting, also depicting some Brahmanical deities among whom at least two are recognizable at once.<sup>3</sup> Built by Kyawsetha son of King Anura-

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Bur. Burma, photo-negative no. 125/244 (1930—31).

<sup>2</sup> Said to have been built by King Kyawsetha in 1046 A.D., son of Anuradita.

<sup>3</sup> As these materials were not available to me when my *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* was published (1926), I take this opportunity to identify three new paintings here. One of them (Arch. Bur. Burma, photo-negative no. 65/245 of 1921—22) represents him sitting on his lotus throne. In his two hands he carries the Amara and the Ingala, around his neck hangs the mala-garland, and from his palm-nails flows the sacred stream of the Ganga. The other (Arch. Bur. Burma, photo-negative no. 40/267 of 1921—22) represents the goddess Yamunā riding her swan-like vehicle, the Gajapati. The third is an image which seems to be a half-Brahmā lower-order. The goddess is adorned with four heads of which two are held together in front

shakti who introduced Theravāda Buddhism in Upper Burma, and himself the builder of the sublime Kaanda, that striking monument of the Theravāda faith, the Aboyaṅga is perhaps one significant example which represents the eclectic nature of the religious life of contemporary Pagan, combining as one set not only Hinayanism and Buddhism but also the two apparently conflicting creeds of the lower faith. This temple along with a number of others, definitely prove that the Kshatriyas who must have preceded the Theravāda, at least in Pagan, was still a living religion with a considerable section of the population, though the latter came to be established as the official religion of the State.<sup>4</sup>

of low relief with gables exposed, and two others hold non-terrestrial objects. A standing figure, presumably a female, and provided with a halo, seems to follow her. So far as I know, this is the only representation of this goddess from Burma.

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that the paintings of the Aboyaṅga (12<sup>th</sup> century) and number other temples, not number containing representations of gods and goddesses of Northern Buddhism, e.g. the Kalyāṅga (12<sup>th</sup> cent.) of Myingagan, the Maṅgala (11<sup>th</sup> cent.), the Paṅḍitaṅga (12<sup>th</sup> cent.), are executed in a style which is more akin to the classical Indian style represented in the oldest contemporary manuscript paintings of Bengal, while the paintings of the Paṅḍitaṅga (12<sup>th</sup> cent.), the Maṅgalaṅga (12<sup>th</sup> cent.), the Theṅḍala (12<sup>th</sup> cent.) etc. seem to owe their affiliation to the somewhat later tradition of Nepalese paintings as well as that of Jain manuscript paintings of Western India. It is equally interesting that a few of the latter group of temples contain Tantric paintings, a fact to which my attention was drawn by Prof. G. M. Lewis of the University of Bangalore. A further comparison of the ground plans and other architectural features shows that as in their paintings, so in their architectural style, they fall into two different groups, the former (belong to the earlier or late variety of them belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> century) I would prefer to designate as the "Indo-Burmese" type, and the latter (which is also later in date) as the "Burmese type" of which one of the earliest specimens is the Kalyāṅga (12<sup>th</sup> cent.), and one of the best the Theṅḍala (12<sup>th</sup> cent.). The Kaanda (12<sup>th</sup> cent.) perhaps represents the stage of transition. Some models of the "Indo-Burmese" type can be seen represented on some manuscript paintings from Bengal and on some stone reliefs from the same place. The Kalyāṅga, the Maṅgalaṅga, the Maṅgalaṅga etc. belong entirely to a different class which, as far as I am aware, proved to be the most popular architectural form in Burma. In my opinion, the Kalyāṅga type belongs to the same tradition of sculpture type as does the Kalyāṅga of India. But this is not the place to go into details about the architecture of Pagan which I mention for a next monograph now in course of preparation, here I have taken the opportunity to

Coming back to the paintings themselves from the Akropolis, we find one interesting horizontal panel on the east wall of the east corridor of the temple representing a deity seated in *Isidimma* with a graceful silhouette. His right hand is shown in *varadimma* and the left in what resembles the *sythlythra* attitude. A full-blown lotus-flower rises in a delightful curve at the left, and two female attendants stand in *adonimma* on two sides.<sup>1</sup> The lotus, the *varadimma* and the lotus-flower seem to indicate that the god represented is *Lohasidimma* who, we have already seen, was a popular *Ekhnatum* in *Babyl*.

In the same temple, on the western portion of the south-wall there is an exquisite drawing consisting of two empty niches, one above the other.<sup>2</sup> The upper niche is flanked by two standing figures who are evidently attendant *damim* or simply *stotryphim* standing on the divinity, presumably the *Isidimma*, supposed to occupy the niche. The figure on the right holds in his right hand a round wheel, and in his left a pointed sword, raised up to the corresponding shoulder, that on the left holds a spear in his right hand and a round wheel in his left. Both are dressed and elegantly decked with ornaments, and on both sides of each are stalks with full-blown and half-blown lotuses. It is difficult to offer any identification for these two persons, but if they are attendant *damim* they certainly represent *Ekhnatum*.

Between the two niches there is a horizontal panel which depicts six different scenes, short but dramatic. I can offer no identification of any of them, but one of them. The third from the right, representing an acrobat seated in *sythlythra*, with a garland of shells round his neck and carrying a female figure on his shoulders, seems to represent a *Turuk* ritual.

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I make known a liquid identification of the handwriting specimens of Pagan. I record with thanks the suggestions I received from Prof. G. H. Luce in this connection.

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Mus. Berlin (photo-negative no. 15722) of 1891—92.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Mus. Berlin (photo-negative no. 15720) of 1891—92. This is one of the best preserved drawings from Pagan. No attempt at any study of these drawings and paintings of Pagan from their artistic standpoint and so in their place in the history of *Isidimma* painting is made here. For such a study, readers are referred to my *Isidimma* *Arch. Proc. J. Assyriol. Soc. and Proceedg.* [to appear].

The niches at the bottom is also guarded by two divinities, seated in what resembles the *andharyanidhana*. Both are crowned and wear metal ornaments. The one on the right carries a shield in his right hand and a spear in his left, the other holds the cube in his right hand and the sword in his left. But what is most interesting, both of them appear to wear what seem to be stupa hoods. From his attributes (p. 1) the cube and the sword and the book, the figure on the left may perhaps be identified as that of Śrīya, but in that case the seated person is somewhat unusual. The figure on the right does not seem to correspond to Śrīya. It is not unlike an Ārya, the character of Śrīya, but, if it is safe to know them at present simply as attendant deities.

Just above these two figures there are depicted two divinities seated in *śāhāna* on two half-blown lotus-seats and each flanked by two kneeling worshippers. The right hand of the figure on the right is in *varada-mudra* and the left clasp the stalk of a lotus-flower that blossoms just above the corresponding shoulder. The hands of the figure on the left are in exactly similar position, but on the half-blown lotus-flowers we can easily notice the *Pratyakṣamūrti* look. The two figures perhaps respectively represent *Archiektavya* and *Mahyati*.

On the east wall of the east corridor of the same temple is represented a god seated in *andharyanidhana* with his right hand holding a sword (*śūlpaṇḍita*) and his left clasping the end of a long tablet resting diagonally against his body.<sup>2</sup> The figure does not lead itself to an identification, but he is certainly belongs to the varied pantheon of the Vajrayāna.

#### Remarks

On the same wall there is a painting depicting another interesting god of the Vajrayāna pantheon. He is represented as seated in *andharyanidhana* and carrying a scepter on his left hand raised above the corresponding shoulder. The attributes in his right hand cannot unhesitatingly be determined. The god is painted in red colour, and what is still more important is that over his crown

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Sur. Burma photographs no. 30730 of 1925-26.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, photographs no. 31390 of 1925-26.

peeps out the head of a horse.<sup>1</sup> The painting was at once identified as depicting Septentrio. Kuygina. The authors lay down that Kuygina, when depicted as an independent deity has red colour, carries the reins and the reins in his two hands and shows the horse's head over his arms.<sup>2</sup> The painting agrees wonderfully well with the picture, and we can assume that the right hand of the god carries the reins. So far as I know, this is the first image of Kuygina that has up to now been recognized in Siberia.

<sup>1</sup> *Khantoiarppa, Baidar Journal* pp. 21-22.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE ARI SECT AND THE SAMANAKUTTAKAS' TANTRIC MISDEEDS IN BURMA

THE WISE AND ARI<sup>1</sup>

The wall-paintings of the Pagan-then-called-Nachonathite Temple, as we have seen, and the evidence of the Tibetan monk scholar Thonakha-jay will be shown in a subsequent chapter (point to the existence of a Tantric Buddhist sect in Pagan, and perhaps also in other localities in Burma. This sect was probably that of the Ari (who, in my opinion, were the same as the Samanakkuttakas, referred to as the Samanakkas) who, according to Burmese tradition, had their principal centre on the Paga hill of Thonakha near Pagan where their cult persisted, amidst of repeated royal persecutions, till probably as late as the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Much has been written about the Ari and their cult, quite a number of scholars have attempted to throw light on the history of this mysterious sect, and whatever has been revealed of them in traditions, local chronicles and inscriptions has been discussed at length<sup>2</sup>. Their identity has long puzzled scholars until M. Duroiselle gave a most comprehensive account<sup>3</sup> discussing all evidences at his disposal and identifying the Ari as a sect affiliated to the Northern School of Buddhism and fully saturated with Tantrism.

<sup>1</sup> *Pagan: History of Burma*, p. 2. *Notes B.E.F.E.O.*, 1901, p. 171. *Frank, J.A.*, 1901, p. 101. *The New Era, Burmese Studies*, Duroiselle, *J.B.E.S.*, 1911, I, 1, p. 101. *Burmap. History of Burma*, pp. 17-18, 31, 32, 111, but the best discussion is certainly Duroiselle, *op. cit.*, 1902-04, pp. 70-82. [*The Ari of Burma and Tibetan Buddhism*]. Some Duroiselle's views, apart about the Ari have become known, as a result of my better knowledge of the local chronicles, e.g. the *Shananshi*, and of the wall-paintings of Pagan. This chapter sketches a more explicit account based on all the facts at his disposal.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*

All evidence tend to support M. Drouillard's conclusions. Here we wish only to present the subject in a briefer and more correct historical perspective than lay within the scope of M. Drouillard's study, and stress those points which lend support to his conclusions.

Among the sources relating to the Aru and their cult, the information supplied in the *Shanagrottalik* is the most detailed and interesting; it will be necessary to give a full account so far as possible of the source material in this connection before attempting any interpretation. No apology will be needed if we proceed to quote entire extracts from the *Shanagrottalik* dealing with the Aru and their cult. This will, we shall presently see, help us in explaining and correlating other references to the cult from different sources, including such as do not mention them by name.

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE SHANAGROTTALIK

- [2] Now the Aru became King (Young Shoshone: *ayp-ayla* A 27) and was great in glory and power. At his command-plantation he made a large and pleasant garden, and he brought out large, a great large, of things. He thought it good then to make and worship the image of Niga<sup>1</sup>, because Niga was called that man and his power greater. However, he considered the best? Aru made regarding the Spirit

<sup>1</sup> "Again the phonetic transcription of the name. It is written *Agul*, following the native form. Niles (J. E. P. E. S.: 1902, p. 362) shows this word here, *Asutlala*, being based on the Chin inscription of Kamei Khoriteng of Sikkim, in which the word *Asutlala* occurs, and which he took to be the name of the Burman *Ar* in Sikkim. But N. Hart (pp. 107) has shown that *Asutlala* is a proper name that of a monastery or a town. The word ending in [ul] has never occurred in Burman, but always before that goes from *Mongol*, the Aru were not certainly living in Sikkim like the Buddhist and Hinduized *Asutlala*, but lived together in large communities, or in the shape of villages. The word *Ar* comes from *Arpa*, (p. 107) This final [ul] occurring in Burman regularly, which is always pronounced *u*." Drouillard, *op. cit.*, p. 24, 25.

<sup>2</sup> What was the use for the pre-Theoretic, Buddhist of Pagan was prohibited by Niga worship, which continued to have its share of influence even after the Theoretic conversion.

<sup>3</sup> Note that these epithets are used by the writer or writers of the *Shanagrottalik* who were apparently Theoretic of a much later date. Note also the *shōshō* in these records, here the later and more refined Buddhist held the earlier *shōshō* and is *shōshō*, of set in future contrast, and how they loved to create the story of the shōshō made to meet their end.

papers in the Kingdom of Yakkay and Thant, and in fact five papers: Pithay, Pithay, Pithayaw, Thalapayaw and Sahipay. It thus is set up what were called paper images or images of the Lord and overlapped them with offerings of rice, money and forested dwellings, eight and morning. Since the most famous made by John Pawan the elder in the 16th year of the Lord Ommand, throughout the reign of the Dynasty of the Burman kingdom of Tharay, Tharintay, Anantayaw and Tharayaw, there flourished the penmanship order, the script order, the script writing, their study and industry. But afterwards the script gradually grew weak from the reign of King Tharayaw Jinday of the city of Anantayaw and hence there was no penmanship or script pen, only the doctrine of the *dei* book at Thantay was generally adopted, such as the reign of King Anantayaw the long and the whole country had their doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

- (4) Seeing that the people had been fondly sleeping in the doctrine of the *dei* book the early generations of Kings of Pagan Anantayawaw (Anantayaw, say—say) filled with virtue and wisdom, spread the seed kernel of the *dei* book as it followed the precept of the *dei* book, known as Thantayawaw. Whosoever those *dei* books as rules that the people might believe that doctrine made manuscripts to read their purpose and gifted them inside a wooden box and when the shelliness became covered with water and back they sought and released by water-purification of disease and made them read and publish the manuscript found in the shellish tree. He took the long and all the people understood.<sup>2</sup>

- (5) In the reign of Anantayawaw the kingdom of Anantayawaw was known as Paganaw (another name for Pagan, or Pagan). Here the King in that country for many generations had been confined in false opinions following the doctrine of the *dei* book and their party thousand thoughts were practical party in Thantay. It was the habit of them Anantayaw to reject the Law preached by the Lord and in their mind secretly their own opinions. They were doing after their own heart and believed others was the mean. According to the Law they preached, a man might take the life of another and create the means of justice if he wanted the benefit of deposition (partly) such like and further doctrine they preached in the Law *SOONER MORROW, KING AND MARRIAGE, PEACE AND WAR, SILENT AND SILENT PEOPLE, SILENT* they believed the marriage of their children were prohibited in and them in their trouble of rightful, seeing as it was called, the *dei* of their country. But still they believed all they were not the only in the meeting. This meeting of the *dei* of country means an act of worship. When children connect to meeting the meeting in the ceremony to worship.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mying Tin and Law (Siam Folio chronicle)*, 77—78—79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 78.

and he used *skhramche*. And scholars in their short scriptures use this phrase, 'the time of the first teaching to the monastery'.

The *Samvattamantava* was a king of ripe perfection, and when he heard and saw these many lawless things he was displeased, knowing them to be false doctrines. And he yearned vehemently to discover the true Law.<sup>1</sup>

- (5) The noble man *Sharmatana* (i.e. King Abama) having come to Pagan remained in the village. When the king and all the people found their own opinions and were established in the good Law, the *Ar* lords did their own and lesser and low good deeds against King Abama, and the king, hearing that the *Ar* would practice ill against him, took good heed and appointed people enough to defeat the thirty *Ar* lords and their sixty thousand disciples. At that time there came many monks and converts of them who were killed in the village. And the king rebuked the thirty *Ar* lords and their sixty thousand followers and expelled them among his subjects and lesser and highest-rung ministers. And the king said: 'The royal preceptors and great preceptors will not call the *Ar* people to believe in. Follow the doctrine of the *Ar* monks. If it were good to follow them again, I would have taken them.' So the king is, it is said.<sup>2</sup>

The extracts above quoted do not allow us to decide at what time the cult of the *Ar*s was introduced at Pagan,<sup>3</sup> but it is clear that already before the middle of the tenth century, they were so powerful that the king and the whole country held their doctrines. And even without taking the number of thirty *Ar* lords or their sixty thousand disciples too literally, we may assume that they courted numerous followers and were an important factor to be reckoned with when Anawrahta made the first attempt to curb their influence. They had their centre at Thawshin, a village not very far from the Pagan metropolis, and after the introduction of Theravāda Buddhism Anawrahta conducted a relentless per-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>3</sup> *Maizumi* (6) purports to say that the people had been clinging to the *Ar* doctrine for thirty generations of kings at Pagan. Number 30 and its multiples with Buddhist chronicles, however, have a traditional significance. However, the present statement is evidently an exaggeration and as well known old method of looking at time accuracy. But there is no reason to doubt the statement in regard (5) that the royal preceptors and great preceptors of King Anawrahta had followed the doctrine of the *Ar* monks.

erion against them. What is self-evident in those extracts is that even the *Shasana* which was compiled at the court of a king subscribing to the pure faith of the Theravāda, by scholars who had been perfect followers of the faith, and at a time when the whole country had long been under the profound influence of Ceylonese Buddhism: even that *Shasana* does not state or imply that the *Ari* were not Buddhists. Its implication is rather to the contrary, for it says that they were monks living in mountains, and what is significant, they believed in the reversion of the jātaka. According to the *Shasana* their doctrines were false: evidently because they widely diverged from those of the pure faith which the authors of the *Shasana* professed and which their people had professed for centuries.

Old faiths die hard. Anavārita's crusade against the *Ari* was only partially successful: their power, if it was broken to a great extent, but they were not extinguished. In a Burmese inscription which may be dated in the latter half of the twelfth or the early part of the thirteenth century<sup>1</sup>, a specific mention of the *Ari* occurs not long after the events referred to above. It says:

'One thousand monks killed with swords and were offered to the dead, a silver Buddha was also given for the *Ari* to worship. My son became a monk and devoted to the first religion. A gold Buddha was made. At the time when my son received ordination, and devoted to the first religion, silver, cattle and property was great.'

The *Arak* of the inscription doubtless refers to the *Ari* who continued to receive new adepts, as this record seems to prove, even as late as the date of the inscription.

Another definite mention of the *Ari* occurs in connection with Theintin's son Sawyon (1312 A. D.; Sawyon was ruler of Sapping) who captured some *Ari* among his vassal vintners.<sup>2</sup> It may be recalled that Anavārita also recalled some of the *Ari* among his spearmen and hunters. The *Arak*-faith of the *Ari* (*Arak-gyi-din-shaw*) seem to have been numerous at Pinya, Ari and Sapping, and were even patronised by kings.<sup>3</sup> They were so called owing to their love of sports, especially hunting of which they gave public

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 124 in the *List of Inscriptions found in Burma*, Archaeological Survey, Burma, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> *Shasana*, VI.

embellished. They set all monastic rules at naught, wore great dresses, and had a weakness for another sex; they kept their hair about two inches long, wore a kind of cylindrical hat, and robes of a colour not orthodox; they dabbled in alchemy and popular magic; they sold amulets and talismans for the attainment of magical power, and they had, rods and gold boxes and possessed distinctions in the use of arms. They were powerful at Awa in the fifteenth century, in the reign of king Parkasa-tila-gyung: the monks among them had free entrance of the palace at any time of the day, and there, if it will, they often drank as unmoderately as to be sent back to their monasteries in palanquins. They are still mentioned in the eighteenth century when a thousand of them suddenly sailed from Awa and put to flight a party of Taluangs with whom the Burmese were then at war.<sup>1</sup>

It is evident that the original doctrines of the Awa had undergone a complete transformation and the sect existed in a degenerate condition without having any religious hold or significance. The later descendants of the Awa were only known as such but they had very little to connect themselves with those from whom they claimed to have been descended.

#### WHO WERE THE ANANDA-VIJAYAS?

Besides the specific references to the Awa and their descendants we meet with certain references in inscriptions and manuscripts which may, in the light of the extracts already quoted from the *Meikanto*,

<sup>1</sup> *Barrois*, op. cit., pp. 21-22. Kinsler in his very interesting article, he says, "Ananda's penetration had the unexpected result of spreading the sect in remote parts of Burma, and its remnants, though not styled An, are still existent among a large number of Shan people, among whom the original doctrine has been forgotten. Through the Ananda-vijaya family of monks has passed amongst the Burmese themselves, at the Burmese capitals and other places of some importance, a degenerate form of An may be said to have lasted well into the eight century. The manuscripts of the An sect, to have disappeared as well as the right to the jet pomas seats, the annual sacrifices, and the very doctrine about the existence of sut. Yet the spirit of the old sect, enshrined in the love of good above superior thinking and wisdom. The greater part of this transformation is no doubt due to the great religious reformation of Buddhism carried out in the fifteenth century by King Dhammaraja, as recorded in the Rajahat manuscripts" op. cit., pp. 21-22.



but had them over to the margins before giving them to me, and  
 without transgressing the rule commit me to<sup>1</sup>

Besides this specific reference to the Ari and Samasakathana,  
 there is at least one other reference that almost certainly relates to  
 this heterodox sect. It is in the Madrasville manuscript of 1831  
 & D., already mentioned in a preceding chapter where its signifi-  
 cance has been pointed out. Here is the relevant passage from the  
 inscription:

The natives demanded that three things be defected to the  
 monks two pecks of rice two baskets of food (and) betel-  
 leaf one and a quarter (and) one of these one was quart pot of long-fermented  
 liquor This offering was made on the presence of my lord the  
 King<sup>2</sup>

Condition it indicates Ari converts as late as the middle of the  
 nineteenth century, and even under no press a long in Kyaukse. The  
 actual word 'Ari' does not occur in the inscription, but considering  
 that the locality has always been described as the home of the  
 Ari, the cross and Tintin character of the paintings of the temple  
 itself and the manner of meat and spirits to be provided for the  
 monks, there cannot be the least doubt that the temple and the  
 attached monastery along with others of the locality (e.g. the  
 Pagoda on ground) were houses of the mysterious sect of the Ari.  
 "The very existence of their name further shows that the Ari were  
 then recognized as a long standing and matter of fact institution,  
 further more, the building of monasteries and temples and the  
 providing of more than the usual necessities of monkish life for  
 their use, is a proof that, far from having been exterminated by  
 King Anawrahta in 1175, as we are told, they were held, at the  
 century, in high esteem, not only among the people, but also at  
 the court"<sup>3</sup>.

#### SOME ADDITIONAL ARGUMENTS

The great point to be decided in this connection is whether the  
 Ari were really a Buddhist sect. Opinions have very naturally

<sup>1</sup> This point has also been stressed by Dr. H. H. D. D., p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions of Pagan, Prome and Aye Mye*, no. 123 for the date and other  
 historical implications, see, also, *B. A. S. P.*, 1888, pp. 10-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Chamisso*, p. 101.



differed on this question. Mr. Flaps contended that they were not Buddhists in any sense of the term<sup>1</sup>, while M. Finot held that Pagan was the god of the Arya<sup>2</sup>, and that their cult was purely a primitive and indigenous one influenced largely by Shiva worship. M. Thibet and Mr. Taw-hien Ku agreed that they represented a debased form of Mahâyâna Buddhism influenced by the indigenous Shiva cult on the one hand and Śrivaishnav and Saivism on the other.<sup>3</sup> The most considered opinion was put forward by M. Deroche according to whom the Arya were a Buddhist sect belonging to the Northern School, "ministering to the superstitions of the people, and were devotees of the Shiva and spirit worship then prevalent in the land, and affiliated at the bloody sacrifices connected with this indigenous worship. About the eighth century they were profoundly influenced by Taoism and were addicted to greatly unorthodox practices owing to false influences generally, and perhaps more particularly to intercourse with the followers of Vajrayâna and Sakyaist cults of Bengal and Nepal"<sup>4</sup>.

It is unnecessary to go over the same ground as M. Deroche has done; he has discussed the question from all points of view, and readers are referred to his article. I would here point only to two or three aspects of the evidence at our disposal that go to support his conclusions.

It has already been pointed out that the extracts quoted from the *Bhavanas* seem to own the Arya as a Buddhist sect, but they were considered heretics because they had deviated from their original faith and had thus weakened their own religion. The implication of the *Bhavanas* appears also to be supported by the *Samanvittiyakas* which as we have seen style the Arya as *Samanvittiyakas* or "false samanas" who corrupted the original religion by their boundless abuse of the precepts. If it means anything, it seems to suggest that these *Samanvittiyakas* were in reality Buddhist monks, but were gradually so degenerated owing to a number of causes that they were considered heretics by the followers of the Theravâda. Among the contributory causes may have been the primitive

<sup>1</sup> Flaps, *History of Burma*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Finot, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

<sup>3</sup> Thibet, *B. E. F. O.*, 1906, p. 36; Taw-hien Ku, *Burma Studies*, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Deroche, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

practices of *panjrasa* sacrifices, bloody sacrifices and the drinking of liquor associated with it, and not a little the avoiding of the Eastern Buddhists from Bengal.

But more definite evidence are afforded by the paintings of the Paganthomas and Nandamallik temples and the Nandamallik inscription of 1245. The two temples were evidently Buddhist places of worship, the main figure enshrined in the sanctum in each temple is that of the Buddha seated in the *ilhanapada-mudra* and on the walls and ceilings of each are painted numerous figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. One of the figures of the Nandamallik represents a standing figure of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with his right hand in the *varada-mudra*, and accompanied on the left by his deity Tara. This and similar other representations of Bodhisattvas prove definitely that these temples were Buddhist places of worship affiliated to the Mahayana and its allied cults. The Nandamallik inscription is also another definite evidence on this point. Had the temple not been intended as a place of Buddhist worship, there could hardly have been any necessity for the long and arduous journey that Shin Arhan was asked to undertake to bring a Buddha relic from Tamasarua to be deposited in the temple.

Last of all these is the Harissa inscription no. 176 already referred to<sup>1</sup>, which definitely connects the Aris with Buddhist worship and typically Buddhist ritual. Images of the Buddha were made and other rituals were performed on the occasion of the collection as a mark of a lay man who subsequently listened to the first sermon, and then joined the rank of the Aris.

<sup>1</sup> *List of Inscriptions found in Burma*. Archaeological Survey Burma, 1928.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### TESTIMONY OF BUDDHIST MONKS

Accounts left by Buddhist monks throw a flood of light on the history of Buddhism in the Indianized countries of South-East Asia including Burma. Most useful from our point of view is the well-known history of Buddhism by the Tibetan monk Thuan-t'ho, and an account of travel by his guru Buddhapapa, a Buddhist monk. Their testimony appears to have been summarized in a Tibetan work of a somewhat later date, the *Pag Sam Jui Zang*. *Bei T'ho-t'ho* supplies the fullest account; we shall therefore begin with his account and take Buddhapapa next. As the *Pag Sam Jui Zang* mostly draws upon Thuan-t'ho, it is unnecessary to dwell on the evidence it contains. We need only state how far it agrees with Thuan-t'ho with regard to our subject. Moreover, its account is far too short.<sup>1</sup>

#### THUAN-T'HO AND HIS ACCOUNT

The introduction of Mahayana Buddhism in Pagan, Pagan and Arakan was already a thing of the past when Thuan-t'ho wrote his celebrated history. It is unfortunate that the attitude of modern historians in dealing with the valuable account of this honest and conscientious chronicler of the events of his region has always been one of exaggerated suspicion. In matters of chronology and as a connected history, and with regard to names of kings and places, his account is no doubt of great value, with that of more reliable records; but when he is recording slips of history or geographical information, especially in connection with the history of his own faith, even his own times, he gives us on the whole very important information on historical events although dressed some-

<sup>1</sup> The *Pag Sam Jui Zang* pp. 117-24.

times as facts are given. He then enables us to fill up gaps in our knowledge of the history of the period, and to explain otherwise unaccountable facts and actions.

Whoever studies the account of the north-Indian coast admires in him an attitude approaching that of a modern historian, in far as it was possible in his days, for, he cared to give an account, though short, of the sources and source-materials from which he drew materials of his work, as the last chapter of his work.<sup>1</sup> A good number of historical facts he reported as unobtainable; he largely depends on Kameswara's work as good Indian work was supplemented by Ibn-Batuta's, *Fihiyasafar* and Hsüangshih's;<sup>2</sup> history of the succession of the *dharmas*. Besides these, the *Mahā-pāṇḍitāśāstra*, a text belonging to about the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and now widely known among scholars, is also known to have been one of the important sources utilized by Tiruvittala. For the history of Apurvakā, Kāṣmīr, Ujjein, Tāchira and the Kāśi land, our north-Indian friends confess to have had no authority to draw upon. A remarkable evidence of his honesty is that when he draws upon merely an evidence he puts on record that he does so and when he has neither evidence or earlier extant works to refer to, he is frank enough to say, "I have not heard", or "I have no earlier work of history", and he leaves his readers to draw their own inferences. One may therefore safely use Tiruvittala's account to his advantage so long as it does not contradict known facts or lessons of history, and to the extent they may be used to supply information not only upholding but also explaining the logic and circumstances of already established facts.

It has long been known to scholars that Tiruvittala's history of Buddhism in India refers to the construction of the Kāśhīyāra and its allied cells in *Uruva*, more particularly in *Pagan*, during the rule of the Senas of Bengal. But the significance of this reference has hardly been properly understood nor has Tiruvittala's account presented to its true perspective. It is therefore proposed to give

<sup>1</sup> *Śāntana, Tīruttālā Śāntana-śāstra: Pradhāna-śāntana-śāstra, in Pradhāna-śāntana-śāstra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Hsüangshih* perhaps is *Hsüangshih*, a class of Buddhist pilgrims of Bengal, *Śāntana-śāstra* of Bengal who are well known in the previous, and are often alluded to in north-eastern country Bengal literature.

have relevant extracts in full from *Thamshā*, so that the whole account as far as it relates to the history of Buddhism in Burma may be understood in its proper setting.<sup>1</sup>

## BUDDHA'S FIRST DISCOURSE

### A

Chapter XXV. Events of the time when the venerable Śākyas saw the position of the Great<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the text in *Pravrajana Vākyas*<sup>3</sup> and in *Chūvaḥ Śākyasā*<sup>4</sup> and *Śākyas* many things were omitted. At the time in *Thamshā*, the *Pravrajana Vākyas* omitted all things and all words of *Pravrajana* teaching in order that the structure of the *Śākyas* and the *Pravrajana* does not decline. Towards the end of his life, the venerable Śākyas went to the region of the South,<sup>5</sup> and after he has converted the king *Udayana* he returned the land for many years. . . .<sup>6</sup>

### B

Chapter XXVI. Events of the time of King Śiṅḡa (*Śiṅḡa Śākyas*)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> — *Jayasena* also was a great deity who was learned in many sacred books and lived in *Śiṅḡa* for a very long time. I have composed no detailed biography of him. At that time a monk of the Buddha reached *Śiṅḡa*<sup>8</sup> in the north. The poet *Gaṅgadhara*, a pupil of *Śākyas*

<sup>1</sup> The following extracts in English it must be mentioned are not from original Tibetan, but from Schönbauer's German, but wherever and whenever I had doubts, I compared the Tibetan text and checked myself as to the correctness or otherwise of the German translation. It is a tribute to German scholarship that even at that early stage of Tibetan studies, Schönbauer could follow the original so closely and so faithfully.

<sup>2</sup> Schönbauer op. cit. p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Pravrajana* is certainly *Pravrajaya*, just as *Chūvaḥ* is *Chūvaḥya*. It shows that *Pravaj* or *Prava* had another name *Prav-ya*.

<sup>4</sup> It is certainly *Śākyas* (= *Śākyas* = roughly *Burmas* *Śākyas*) of *Śākyas* deity of the *Yamshākyas* (= *Śākyas*).

<sup>5</sup> This is a faithful record of a well-known historical event, now more fully established by the discovery of Buddhist records of *Śākyas* in the land that bears the name of *Śākyas*.

<sup>6</sup> Schönbauer op. cit. p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> *Śiṅḡa* = *Śiṅḡa* = *Śiṅḡa*. At the time when *Śiṅḡa* wrote the preface to *Thamshā* in Tibetan of what is translated in English by "A" was what is that *Śiṅḡa* is really *Śiṅḡa*.

Samghadisa and Dharmadisa's pupil Satastada offered a written deposition with a large body of followers according to many hundred thousands of people who lived according to the Law in the four classes (7). They both still exist at present at Peking.<sup>1</sup>

## C

Chap. XXXVII. *Stories of the time of the Four Kings and others.*<sup>2</sup>

[According to Theravāda, the last king here was Laviana who was succeeded by his son Khasana. Khasana was succeeded by his son Manasava, and the latter by his son Paribhasava. Although the number of years<sup>3</sup> says Theravāda "by which every one of them reigned is not known, all together they have not ruled more than about 50 years".]

At the time of these Four Kings the Tirthas<sup>4</sup> increased more and more in Magadha and there also appeared many followers of the Mleccha system of the Tirthas<sup>5</sup>. In Chastapuri and Yaksamadhī the king created a sect of heretics and a few soldiers were put into it for detaching it.<sup>6</sup> In Vajrasana (Vajrapada), a Mahāyāna school was

<sup>1</sup> Peking = Peking = Peking = Peking.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction, op. cit. pp. 102 ff.

<sup>3</sup> By the word "years" Theravāda I think, meant the Brahmanic whose religious during the rule of the Kings was intimately connected with the crown.

<sup>4</sup> The Tirthas must have refer to the followers of Jains. They are referred to in the *Skandapurāṇa* (pp. 70-71) of the *Lata Gāthya*, prince Prabhavajrasamudhaya probably due to the Vajrasamudhaya conversion of Bikkana, under the name of Jaina who under their leader Mahāmat of Chastana and Lavana Mūlā created a considerable portion of Northern India during the period 1000-1050 A.D., and also by the Khāndi character *Jainava*.

<sup>5</sup> This agrees on the whole with the account given in the *Śāstāra-Śāstra* by Mahāyāna (Jain, by Narayana) of the destruction of the fortified city of Vāraṇasī. Mahāyāna declared the city he captured as a "heretic", though, in fact, it was a Buddhist centre with a library and a college. It is common knowledge that at Chastapuri also there was a large Buddhist establishment. The monks of Chastapuri-in-the-Mahāyāna resented in the support of the heretics. The capture is thus described by Mahāyāna: Mahāyāna (Buddhist) by the force of his conspiracy there had set free the prison of the gateway of the palace and they captured the heretics and captured great booty. The greater number of inhabitants of the place were Brahmanas and the wives of these Brahmanas had their heads shaven, and they were all dead [Evidently the inhabitants of Vāraṇasī took the shaven head, Śāstāra made an Śāstāra] There were a great number of heretics there and when all these heretics came under the observation of the Mahāyāna they announced a number of heretics that they might give them information respecting the support of these heretics, but the whole of the Mleccha had been

found, and their approval also a few years and Motzheim's who provided the Law. Among the names which were mentioned upon Bernaldo's Storying (Bernaldo's from Bernaldo's) mostly the other names of Yucatan defined, but not that in Yucatan (and Obituario). A great assembly came together which was of the size of the time of a city-state.<sup>1</sup> After the death of King Kukulcan with Lorenzo who ruling, a few years passed in peace, after that in the time of Axtunil between the City and the Yucatan appeared the Yucatan King Caxilob through the intermediary of various rulers who were managers of the long, he combined himself with them in strength and strength of the Yucatan long in other regions and compared the whole land of Yucatan, called many settlements in Obituario and destroyed them as well as Yucatan.<sup>2</sup> On the site of the Obituario, a festival of the Yucatan was founded. The Yucatan festival went to Yucatan started in Obituario in the year. After he had stayed there for three years he came to Yucatan (Obituario) the festival went to Yucatan, the great festival (Yucatan) and the other great festival went to the north of Yucatan with about hundred small festivals. The great festival Bernaldo's and Bernaldo's page Yucatan and many other small festivals led to the north. The great festival (Yucatan) Bernaldo's, Bernaldo's and the remaining small festivals and two small festivals were taken to Yucatan. Bernaldo's in the east and other lands in Yucatan the great was about completed. Although, at this

title. On Bernaldo's account (with the evidence) it was found that the whole of the festival was a village, and in the North festival they call a village, village" (Bernaldo p. 124)

The account in the Yucatan festival by Bernaldo is also referred to the name (Bernaldo's festival Yucatan by Bernaldo p. 124) It is also clear that what is described as the festival of Yucatan, was really a festival of Yucatan, and Bernaldo's is Bernaldo's right when he says that in Obituario, the long festival is part of festival by festival against the remaining festival. It is perhaps identical with Bernaldo's festival, the festival of Bernaldo's festival, compared in the 12th year of the reign of King Bernaldo's of the Yucatan festival of Bernaldo, see Bernaldo, Obituario, III 124

<sup>1</sup> This title evidently refers to the version of 'Mito and Bernaldo' by Bernaldo's festival, but it is certain that he gives an Indian name. Caxilob, to the Yucatan King. It seems to accept, substantially agrees with that of Bernaldo's festival above. The story of the festival of the festival and the destruction of the festival of Obituario is common to both. But then the Yucatan King was helped in his quest by various rulers who were managers of the long, and that he combined himself with others in strength and strength of the Yucatan long in other regions are points of similarity which have often been agreed by historians, but which may not be without importance. Consequently Yucatan is not only possible, but also highly probable.

time they lived they magicians and people who collected magic herbs was to means of working miracles calculated to further the well-being of warriors. At the same time the people according to Gerges, were very single-minded and in order to obtain favour from the *Tyrta* kings<sup>1</sup> became fierce followers<sup>2</sup> in so much as they said that they too would not desert the *Tyrta*.<sup>3</sup> Only the small school of Nestorian remained in the *Politia* land *Laravasa*, *Im* *Im*, *Barbassan*, *Im* *Im*, *Barbassan*, *Im* *Im*, *Barbassan*, *Im* *Im*, *Barbassan* and were kings of very limited power, because they had to take order from *Tyrta* kings.

## D

Chap. XXXIX. *Speed of the Cloud in the Eastern Kite country*<sup>4</sup>

Eastern Kite accounts of three parts *Pharapha* and *Qajevit* belong to *Apurthakia* and are called the western part of *Apurthakia*. The north-western mountains *Kharshya*, *Typan* (= *Typanik*) and *Harim* (= *Harim*) are called *Qaravara* as surrounded by hills. Going from there to the west to the side of the northern mountains are the *Malayan* lands the land of *Politayn* (= *Politia* = *Politayn* = *Polita*) situated on the coast, *Belija* etc. the land of *Barbida* (= *Arbida*) *Haravard* (= *Harv*) and other parts of the empire of *Khalifa*. Further west *Qarav*, *Kharshya* and others. All together are generally called *Kite*.

<sup>1</sup> In these Kite countries appeared from the time of long *Alida* sons of *Arshavara*<sup>5</sup>, later in great large numbers, and they became very numerous. But up to the time of *Yusuf* and his they were only *Barbida* when a few people of *Barbida* had spread the *Alidya*. (continued)

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Eastern Kings 14. *Im* *Im*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably those who had been followers of the Gnostic cult came to be converted to the Nestorian religion, a historical fact which is now supported by scholars.

<sup>3</sup> It is well known that the Emperors of the court of *Lakhmians* advised the King not to assist the Turkish invasion of *Harvay*, *Taligay*, *Medel*, p. 220-221. After *Shahanshah* *Barbida* had conquered *Harv* "a number of *Alidya* were sent and conversion of his kingdom" represented to *Lakhmians* that it was written: "in our books of the ancient *Nestorian*" that the country would be conquered by the Turks. They told him that the *Khalifa* every had already conquered *Kite* and "next year they will surely come into this country". They therefore advised the King to "be removed from the country in order that we may be safe from the invasion of the Turks. The King did not however agree to leave the country but most of the *Alidya* and inhabitants of that place did."

<sup>4</sup> *Schönbauer*, op. cit. pp. 101-102.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Sogdian tradition of the *Alida* mission of *Soga* and *Utken* to *Haravardshah*.



To what extent unidirectionally from long Chagatayic there were very many in Madhyastika who retained knowledge there, particularly of the form of the four Sanskrit about half the unidirectional identified in Knapalla was from the Kopy systems. And for the reason the Halyphus had spread very much, the Madhyastika and Halyphus were not always distinguishable as in the Tibetan region. From the time of Madhyastika the Madhyastika spread more and more of the time with Halyphus was supported by the Tawaphus, the children of the Madhyastika came for the most part to Madhyastika and the most was spread among them. About two hundred Madhyastika in several small temples and learned about two hundred copies of teaching. What after him the long Halyphus was some and the latter used the madhyastika word still more or more than before, was the word very much spread in all these countries, and what long time by time the madhyastika madhyastika, it is said that they number still at present about twenty to thirty thousand Madhyastika there were also many copies. . . . Although in all these countries Halyphus, Madhyastika and Madhyastika words were very well-known, the secret version had become very rare with the exception of Madhyastika, the three-syllable version and a few others. . . .

## 2

Chap. IV. The manner of dissemination of the Great in the small islands and the dissemination of the Great in the South, etc.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Further in the Madhyastika<sup>2</sup>, Madhyastika<sup>3</sup>, Madhyastika<sup>4</sup>, Madhyastika<sup>5</sup>, Madhyastika<sup>6</sup>, Madhyastika<sup>7</sup>, and Madhyastika<sup>8</sup>, in four small

<sup>1</sup> Madhyastika 49, 50, 51, 52, 53—54

<sup>2</sup> They are evidently copies, Sanskrit and Madhyastika

<sup>3</sup> Madhyastika is perhaps the same as Madhyastika of the Jeyu inscription of 1070. Madhyastika of the Dargu inscription of 1070 and the Madhyastika of Chiu, 1070 (1070). It was probably identical with the whole Madhyastika of the Madhyastika. For identification of Madhyastika = Madhyastika in the Madhyastika, see, Chiu, *B. E. F. O.* 1927, pp. 10—11. Copies in this connection, Madhyastika mentioned as a Madhyastika inscription from Madhyastika (Madhyastika) where Madhyastika seems to have been the long. The content of the inscription seems to point to Madhyastika where we must try to locate Madhyastika. One may also notice the attention of readers to a passage recorded by Madhyastika (Madhyastika Madhyastika p. 107). There, a Madhyastika p. 107, was found in Madhyastika over the sea of the South. He passed the 'Palace of Copper', and reached the country of Langyuan. He crossed the kingdom of Madhyastika (Jeyu) and traversed the country of the Madhyastika (Madhyastika) after several years he reached Eastern India in the kingdom of Madhyastika (Madhyastika). . . . I have not unfortunately the Chinese for 'Palace of Copper' but I have supposed that it stands for a region having a significant Madhyastika name connected with Madhyastika

attends the creed was known from the earliest times and as very much spread even in the present day".

In the *Samśādānīya* there are also partly followers of the *Mahāyāna*, but followers are much more numerous as stated present in the account of the *Sūptānīya* (textual) — the textual of the first part about 1000 *śāstra* gāthas, most of whom are followers in *Śāstra* and *Pāpā* there are also a few followers of the *Mahāyāna* and in the other parts attend there are only followers of the *Śāstra* . . .".

I have on purpose given elaborate quotations from *Tiruvāṭṭa*, and noticed in *Sūptānīya* points where the Tibetan character looks

upper, and which may even be identical with *Tiruvāṭṭa* of the *Jāya* inscription. *Tāra* is quite likely alike to that inscription. In a review, and attention is that will draw for the first time by the late Prof. *Spence*, Lew, that there were so many copies written on the three sides of the Bay of Bengal having a common generic name connected with the Sanskrit word *Mera*, *Thāpāra* (the island of Ceylon, and also the river of that name in the farthest north of the Indian continent), *Thāpāra* (modern *Tāpāra* in Lower Bengal), *Thāpāra* (perhaps in Assam), *Thāpāra*, *Thāpāra*, and probably also "Palms of Ceylon". Compare also in the same section, *Thāpāra* (*Thāpāra*), *Thāpāra* (modern *Tāpāra*), and other names.

*Thāpāra* — One is tempted to see in this name the Sanskrit form of *Tāpā* (*Tāpā*) or *Tāpā* (according to the Tibetan edition of the *Chāpānīya* inscription p. 142) — modern *Tāpāra*. The earliest *Buddhist* form *Tāpāra* is found in the *Madāyānīya* inscription of 1042 (*Inscriptions of Pagan*, *Pagan* and *Jaya*, p. 142). In the *Thāpāra* pagoda inscription of 1042 (1042) the form is *Tāpāra* (*Inscriptions collected in Ceylon*, *Ceylon*, 1901, p. 12). *Inscriptions* copied from the same inscribed by *Long* *Palapāra* I (1904, p. 102). See *Lew*, *J. J. E. J. N. Y.*, 1904, pp. 111—112, and 13—4.

*Pāpāra* is certainly *Pāpā*, *Pāpā* — *Pāpā* — *Pāpā*.

Among others here is a point that upholds the general authenticity of the account of *Tiruvāṭṭa*. With regard to Ceylon, *Tiruvāṭṭa* states that the *Śāstra* *Buddhists* were mostly *Śāstra*, but included some followers of the *Mahāyāna*. In that connection we may refer to the heads of a good number of *Mahāyāna* temples in Ceylon and quote the account of *Huan* *Tsang* who describes the *Buddhist* brethren of Ceylon as *Mahāyāna* *Śāstra*. "There were a few", the pilgrim mentions when he speaks attention to particular made two sects, the *Mahāyāna* school of those who belonged to the *Śāstra*, and the school of those who belonged to *Mahāyāna* *Śāstra* and *Śāstra*. The *Śāstra* however describes the *Buddhist* brethren of Ceylon as *Mahāyāna* and *Śāstra* and *Śāstra* with them simply *Śāstra* (*Huan*, *Yuan* *Chang*, II, pp. 124—125).

or seems to find support from independent sources. It will be seen that Theanika's account in general agrees remarkably well with facts. It not only does not contradict any of the established facts of history, but supplies us with a logical and coherent sequence of events that fit in satisfactorily within the already set frame. We may safely leave out extracts A and B, which deal with events that were far removed from Theanika's own time, moreover they have hardly any bearing on our present subject, but there is no reason to doubt the general trustworthiness of the extracts C, D and E, all of course, are done not quarrel with the names of the Sanskrit I have pointed out in notes that the historicity of the account as given in these extracts, as far as they relate to events in Bihar and Bengal, and the geographical information contained in them are fairly correct. We need not, therefore, be sceptical regarding the general authenticity of Theanika's account of the introduction of the Mahayana and allied cults in Burma.

#### THEANIKAS' DOMAINS

Theanika includes Pagan (Pagan)<sup>1</sup>, Nakhon (Arakan) and Hakhavon (Pegu) in the Kola land<sup>2</sup> which also comprised the Sanyata lands, Rajya etc., other parts of the empire of Mahajan (Sanyata Hakhavon and Pagan)<sup>3</sup>, and also Cecca and Kamboja. According to the work historian Buddhism had been introduced into these Kola countries as early as the time of Ashoka, gradually growing in importance thereafter. Until the time of Vasubandhu, it was the orthodox school that flourished most. Vasubandhu began his religious career in the school of the Sarvastivada, but was later

<sup>1</sup> Pagan is described to have been situated in the same. This is not so all for Sans texts for the Pagan empire during the Anurathita dynasty did really extend to the shores of the sea on the south and west.

<sup>2</sup> It is not impossible that the Kola land in the name in the text of the history mentioned expressly by the Kola, a hill tribe of the junction of Sany, Arakan and Upper Burma. See, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, III, 46, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to understand what Theanika exactly means by the empire of Mahajan in which he includes among others, Sanyata and Hakhavon (Pegu and North Arakan) were obviously under the dominion of Pagan during the rule of the Pagan dynasty. At present I am not in a position to identify Sanyata lands and Rajya.

converted to the Mahāyāna (Weinze, *Tsun Ching*, I, pp. 157—158) and himself made a large number of converts so that both some of his pupils are credited with having spread the Mahāyāna in the Koko countries, and from that time the Mahāyāna began to flourish there. In fact, the Koko land apparently became such an important centre of this faith, that a good number of Buddhist monks of Mahāyāna had 'attained knowledge' there, and later at the time of the 'Four Seas', about half the ecclesiastics of Magadha came from these countries. The Māhāyāna also is said to have spread there from the time of Ashoka (272—232). 'At the time when Magadha was captured by the Tsin-shih' who had already destroyed the shrine of Chāravāpi and killed many ecclesiastics, a very large number of Buddhist scholars of the Mahāyāna, including Saṅgha Sūyāna, Saṅghatthāna, Gāndhārīyapita, various monks and also small pupils fled to Pāli-han, Māhāyā, Kāmbōya and other countries in Magadha. Buddhism (evidently Theravāda is always speaking of the Mahāyāna) gradually became extinct. The Koko countries also supplied at a later period scholars to Tibet, among whom were Vānarāja and other pupils. Although in the countries of the Koko realm 'Pāraṇa, Jhāṅgāna and Mahāyāna monks were very well-known, the great number had become very rare with the exception of Kāśyapa, the three noble persons and a few others'. And not only in Pāraṇa alone, but in Tamasāraṇa and Paga as well, there were a few followers of the Mahāyāna, though 'in the other small islands there were only followers of Śākyāna'.

#### ON THE FACE OF TĪKSAṆA

A scholar like M. Fret<sup>1</sup> has warned us not to be misled by the 'apparent precision' of Thuantha's valuable account. Such warning is justified, since Thuantha wrote a long time after the events which he narrates, and since he could not avail himself of any reliable authority on the religious history of the Koko land. We cannot expect of Thuantha to produce an absolutely exact historical account of the subject he dealt with. His rôle was otherwise, and he was not also alive in the end of his times. But even admitting

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, *J. A.*, 1881, p. 102 ff.

all this, we have seen that the account by *Thauktha* is not very far from history, and the nearer he is to his age, the more reliable is his evidence which, in almost all the instances quoted above, except with regard to the names of some rulers is in accordance with facts. I have already pointed out in notes where they corroborate facts already known and well-established, and one would readily find that on the main the evidence afforded by the monk-historians is more confirmatory than original. One may at times refer to his account of the *Dharmapala* and *Vikramaditya* *chakras* and of the movements of the *Tanaka* kings which are the same as found in other sources. In our extracts his evidence is nearly original or supplementary. But whenever this is the case, it is hardly ever in conflict with already known facts of history. The story of the introduction of Buddhism in the Kola land is an example. But, so far as our present knowledge goes regarding the subject as derived from other independent sources, mostly archaeological and literary, there is hardly anything to doubt as the general authenticity of *Thauktha's* account. In fact, such a course of events as he speaks of is only in the light of circumstances, and satisfactorily explains the sequence that otherwise remains unexplained.

*Thauktha* flourished in the sixteenth century, and when he wrote the tradition he recorded with regard to the propagation of Buddhism in the Kola land was still more or less within the memory of the people. His account generally conforms our conclusions from epigraphic, literary and other documents, mostly found at Pagan. Intercourse between Pagan and Hinawa on the one hand and Bengal and Bihar on the other from the eighth to the fourteenth century approximately is attested to by the discovery at Pagan and Hinawa of a large number of terracotta relief tablets with Sanskrit epigraphs in Eastern Nagari character. To the same period, roughly speaking, belong also the numerous examples of art, in stone and bronze, which may stylistically be said to have been affiliated to the Eastern School of Art that had its home in the modern provinces of Bihar and Bengal<sup>1</sup>, and flourished during the centuries covered by the *Pala* and *Senas* to whom *Thauktha* makes

<sup>1</sup> See, *J. A. S. P.*, 1925. Rep. "Excavations and Remains from Pagan"; *J. A. S. P.*, 1924, 1925-1926, 1927-1928. Rep. "The Nalanda Temple and its site".

as significant a reference. The most convincing evidence is furnished by a number of Kshatras and Tantras dated themselves reserved from the debris of ruins that to-day cover the wide waste of Pagan and the thinly populated village of Hawsaw, a few inscriptions relating to certain Mahâyâna deities, and an entire series of wall-paintings depicting gods and goddesses belonging definitely to the Mahâyâna and its allied cults. We have also seen the existence of a *Buddhism* not greatly adapted to Theravâya practices, and finally of Mahâyâna and Tantric Buddhist texts in a fifteenth century monastic library. Still more significant is the existence of Kshatras texts to which Tsanabika makes a specific reference. All these are definite and independent proofs of the prevalence of the Mahâyâna and its allied cults in Burma of which our monk-scholar furnished no word or hint.

It. First also fails at guessing to think how the Tibetan scholar could have ignored the great religious reformation of the Theravâda in the eleventh century (under the active patronage of Anawrahta) which gradually developed into the official religion of the Pagan empire. But we must not forget the important fact that Tsanabika was chiefly concerned with Indian Buddhism, and wrote his account more from the point of view of the introduction of the religion from India into the Koko land of which modern Burma is a part. He was, therefore, less interested in the vicissitudes of the religion in the Koko land itself. Tsanabika was a follower of the Mahâyâna and its allied cults, and during the period with which his present account is concerned, Buddhism of the Northern School was the prevailing religion of Eastern India. He was concerned with those later forms of Buddhism, so that he hardly need to record what transformations the Hinayâna had undergone in Burma. Moreover, in all probability he had never visited Burma, nor heard anything of the great religious reformation inaugurated by Anawrahta, which, however, had no more than a local significance. Tsanabika's account is not therefore to be relied upon to draw any straight conclusion as to the relative position of the two great schools of Buddhism in Burma.

We may therefore accept in a general way what Tsanabika says about the propagation of the Mahâyâna and its allied cults in Burma. In fact, It. First admits it when he says that his account is

'not exact as far as it affects Kamboja and Campa. The information of Thiruvalluvar does not go beyond Burma'.<sup>1</sup>

#### AUTHORITY OF BUDDHAGUPTA

It has already been observed that in compiling his history of Buddhism in the Kalla land Thiruvalluvar had no other text or any other written document at his disposal to draw upon. But there is no reason to assume that he drew merely from his imagination, or depended merely on Gauriy tradition. In fact, the very nature of his account reveals that he had at his disposal some reliable source which he drew upon in compiling his history. One such source has recently been brought to light through the admirable researches of Dr. Giuseppe Tucci.<sup>2</sup>

This authority was an Indian Buddhist monk named Buddhagupta, who was the spiritual teacher of Thiruvalluvar.<sup>3</sup> Buddhagupta was a great traveller; he visited many places in India and Burma, the islands of the south-western seas, and even in Africa, with a view to find traces of Buddhism and of Buddhist monasteries. He also went to Tibet where Thiruvalluvar met him and evidently heard from him the account of his travels and of the state of Buddhism in the countries he had visited. Thiruvalluvar later on embodied it in a short biographical note called *Govā d'na Pa-silla-guptha'ka vasa va va va* below the name *Govā d'na pa-silla-guptha'ka vasa va va va* (p. 40). The importance of this note is chiefly geographical.

The life and travels of Buddhagupta have been incorporated in a biography written in Tibetan under the title *Sau vyasa vasa va*.

It is important as a source of geographical information, regarding numerous places in India, Burma, Africa and several islands of the Archipelago B. Moreover, it shows that at the time of Buddhagupta

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Tucci—'The sea and land travels of a Buddhist abbot in the nineteenth century'. *Ind. Stud. (West)* VII p. 29, 31, 32.

<sup>3</sup> The Sanskrit biography of Buddhist *Govā d'na pa-silla-guptha'ka vasa va va va* in the shape of the Tibetan work *Sau vyasa vasa va* Thiruvalluvar himself also began his *Govā d'na pa-silla-guptha'ka vasa va va va* by giving with great reverence his great guru (Śikhiteśvara, p. 1 of p. 101) of whose name he also to be found in another work of Thiruvalluvar, the *Govā d'na pa-silla-guptha'ka vasa va va va* in which the name is recorded that he told his numerous meeting with Buddhagupta. *Ibid.* p. 40.

(6th century) India had not yet forgotten those great links of cultural relations which Buddhism had established between her and her many countries from Africa to Java.<sup>1</sup> But its greatest importance lies in his account of the position of Buddhism in the various places and countries covered by the author's wide travels.<sup>2</sup>

Buddhagupta's travels brought him to Karpāsika.

"Then he started again west, so through Jambhūpāda and Jambhūpāda<sup>3</sup> he went to Karpāsika or Karpāsika<sup>4</sup> where he spent, as he says, about twenty days . . . Then he went to Tīpāra<sup>5</sup> and to the high land of Tīpāra where there is Mātāpāra or Mātāpāra. For some days he remained at the temple ruled by the Mahādāra, Mātāpāra. Thence he proceeded to Śaśāra<sup>6</sup> and to its (other 3) places, Śaśāra<sup>7</sup>, Śaśāra<sup>8</sup> and Śaśāra<sup>9</sup>. In all these countries there is a great abundance of monks and the Buddhist teaching is widely spread. He stopped Śaśāra

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed account of the text see, Tucci, op. cit. But as we are here concerned with Burma, we will come up to the relevant point leaving the reader to gather the very interesting information furnished by the text from Dr. Tucci's admirable paper.

<sup>2</sup> Jambhūpāda and Pāla respectively in China.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps a corruption of Pundranāthana.

<sup>4</sup> Certainly Tīpāra, another Tīpāra.

<sup>5</sup> Chinese Śāśāra, known also to Thaparita. It is not mentioned whether the route followed was by sea or land, but the text seems to point out to a land route connecting Tīpāra with Śāśāra. Tucci thinks that Śaśāra was the general designation for Burma. This would hardly have been the case had it been as there would have been no necessity of mentioning Śaśāra (= Pāla or Pāpa) as a place separate from Śaśāra. He translates the relevant passage as "Saśāra and its place Śaśāra, etc." Under the translation should be "Saśāra and its other places (etc.). Śaśāra, Śaśāra and Śaśāra", or the text itself must be wrong. Saśāra was never so powerful as to include Śaśāra.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Tucci suggests that this is a corruption of Harapāpāra, north of Moulmein near Lampang. Compare also Harapāpāra in the Sāmaśāra, the two seem to me to be identical. Further see Harapāpāra = Harapāpāra = Harapāpāra for the name in Śāśāra's Śaśāra? This is a group of places named in this connection is almost the same as Buddhagupta's, except Śaśāra and Śaśāra.

<sup>7</sup> Pāla = Pāpāra = Pāpa.

<sup>8</sup> By Tucci Śāśāra Śaśāra was Pāpa. I consider it doubtful, for Thaparita mentions Śaśāra and Pāpa (= Pāpa) as two different countries, so does Buddhagupta. In the passage quoted here Pāpa (= Pāpa) is mentioned as a place distinct from Śaśāra. I cannot, however, offer any explanation at present.



a long time and found many temples of the same class and as far as possible the line of the coast marked from points (Chavāṅkaṅka) of the big ships in the temple of Hanthabāḍya and equally from the big points (Pāṭhānānāṅka) in the country of Taṅga. (Chavāṅka was the followers of Mahāyāna thought). Then he continued upon and went to the island of Pāṅka.<sup>1</sup> In this island there were very many monks. There is a great ship of immense proportion which is called (Sānānāṅka), in the ship with the sailing of (Sānāṅka).

It takes about one day for its passage. On the east shore of a very big town where there is an enormous temple of (Sānāṅka) among these different monasteries such as (Sānā, Pāṅka) (= (Sānāṅka = great) (Pāṅka) land and water. When he visited the (Sānāṅka) ships he saw the masters of the five ships with (Sānāṅka) as their central monasteries, in the (Sānāṅka) ships the masters of the five ships with (Sānāṅka) in the central monasteries and in (Sānāṅka) (Sānāṅka) with the masters of the five ships with (Sānāṅka) in the central monasteries. They together with some monks he visited some very small islands, with another island in the middle of the sea called (Pāṅka), the island (Pāṅka) (= (Pāṅka) and island occupied by the (Pāṅka) probably, (Pāṅka) in which many monasteries built such as (Pāṅka) and (Pāṅka) (Sānāṅka), the great (Sānāṅka) the great (Sānāṅka) (Sānāṅka) the small (Sānāṅka) (Sānāṅka), (Sānāṅka) (Sānāṅka).

Buddhagya's evidence throws a different light on the Buddhists of Pagan, Bora, as well as on Hanthabāḍya and Taṅga. There was a great community of monks and the Buddhist teaching was widely spread. We cannot identify Hanthabāḍya and Taṅga, but they must be located somewhere in Lower Burma. We are sure of Pagan where in the sixteenth century the Theravāda was the most popular form of religion, widely practiced by the people. Buddhagya's evidence

<sup>1</sup> 10. Tānānānānā as I have suggested.

<sup>2</sup> Tānā, 29, 30, pp. 400-401. (Sānāṅka) of this passage meant, I think, he identified with the place of the same name in the (Sānāṅka) district of (Sānā) not far from the sea. It seems to be a general name. (Sānāṅka) and (Sānāṅka) and was applied to more than one island in the Bay of Bengal. The small (Sānāṅka) may refer to one of the smaller islands near (Sānāṅka). As for (Sānāṅka) (Sānāṅka) and (Sānāṅka) I cannot at present offer any identification.

One can I be sure of the island in the middle of the sea called (Pāṅka). Buddhagya's account seems to suggest that it was a Buddhist centre. In the same as (Sānāṅka) referred to as a number of monasteries (Sānāṅka) in the (Sānāṅka) MS. no. Add. 1913 and in the (Sānāṅka) (Sānāṅka) of (Sānāṅka) MS. no. A. 1913 (Sānāṅka) no. 17, 18 and 19 of the (Sānāṅka) and no. 19 and 20 of the (Sānāṅka) in (Sānāṅka), (Sānāṅka) (Sānāṅka), pp. 120, 121, 122, 123.

seems to suggest that the Mahâyâna had by this time lost its influence in Fu-fu, but not in Hsuehshe-sha and Tsai-ye where he lived 'as far as possible the law of the great master'. The implication of course is that in these countries the Mahâyâna was already on the wane.

In Transoxiana, however, the Mahâyâna seems to have been rather popular. Śāli Dharmapāla has been identified with Jambhadrā on the Khotan, though, according to certain Tibetan texts there is a place of the same name also in Tibet. In any case, the stîpa, Śāli Dharmapāla referred to by Buddhaghoṣa must be sought for somewhere in Transoxiana though it is permissible to conjecture that it may have been erected by Mahâyânist immigrants from Śāli Dharmapāla in Southern India. It is however strange that no such stîpa or its remains exist, so far as I know, in Transoxiana. The Cambridge MS. no. Add. 754 has one miniature representing a stîpa and inscribed, *Ashvanaga Śāli-Śāli Dharmapāla* which denotes a Dharmapāla. evidently a stîpa, at the Ashvanaga, which, I surmise, may have been situated on a sea-coast.

It is curious that native traditions and chronicles preserve no memory of this aspect of Buddhism which must have existed side by side with the Hinayâna, even after the great Theravāda reformation of Anurādhā in the seventh and of Dharmapala in the fifteenth century. The latter thus seems to have denied the existence of the Mahâyâna and its allied cults by ignoring them altogether.

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<sup>2</sup> Vol. VII, p. 2, p. 21, in Becket, *Iconographic Buddhism*, p. 202. Further describing the monument he writes: "Stîpa hanc, usque septem, summis diuisis localis parvas. Picturam quatuor parvas per vna dispositis ostendit die perveniens (hanc hinc et ab inde)". It is interesting to compare this with what Buddhaghoṣa says about the pedestal of the Śāli Dharmapāla: *Āshvanaga*.

## CHAPTER SIX

### WHEN AND WHERE DID SANSKRIT BUDDHISM PENETRATE BURMA?

#### EVIDENCE ON EPICUREAN RECORDS

We have now to face the last stage of our enquiry, when and where did Sanskrit Buddhism (the Mahāyāna with its allied cults, at particular, come to be introduced in Burma.

We have seen that a considerable number of Sanskrit inscriptions on stone and terracotta votive tablets have been brought to light from the ruins of Hinawaa and Pagan. It is significant that the script of these records are either Gupta-Brahmi or about the seventh century or Eastern Nāgarī of the sixth, tenth and succeeding centuries, both current in those countries of Eastern India now roughly covered by the modern provinces of Bihar and Bengal. It is evident therefore that these regions were the original home of these records. In Hinawaa, Sanskrit already makes its appearance about the seventh century, closely following on the Pāli records discovered there which, however, are written in a script current in the Andhra-Pallava regions of South India in about the fifth and sixth centuries. These Pāli records obviously owe their inspiration to Theravāda Buddhism. Sanskrit may have been the language of either or of both Northern Buddhism and Mahāyāna, which was well known in the ancient Pyu capital and was possessed by at least a certain section of the people. But not a single Sanskrit record, as far recovered from the ruins of ancient Pyaw-oo can be attributed to Mahāyāna; in fact, all of them belong to Buddhism, and can be attributed either to the Mahāyāna or to Theravāda, a Mahāyāna sect using Sanskrit as their sacred language, or to those Northern Buddhists who were known as followers of the Mahāyāna. The earlier wave of Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma seems, however, to be that of the Mahāyāna, as I have tried to show, the main shaft left in ancient Pyaw-oo testifies about the seventh century.

About the sixth and tenth centuries, the Mahâyâna gained the upper hand in Barma, India, and throughout the massive establishments in Tibet and Sengai, gods and goddesses of the Northern pantheon, held sway. This seems to have brought in a corresponding change in the relative position of the Śarvāstivāda and the Mahâyâna in Burma as well. The Sanskrit used in the short epigraphs on terracotta votive tablets of the sixth, tenth, eleventh and the succeeding centuries is no longer the language of the Śarvāstivāda, it is the language of those Mahâyâna who constantly poured into Burma and brought with them small votive tablets, representing sacred stories or images and inscribed with the Buddhist formula. The small terracotta tablet recovered from the mass of stupas and representing a standing image of *Īśā* around which is inscribed the Buddhist formula, is one of the numerous tablets that were taken by pilgrims to the capital cities of Burma. The later waves of the Buddhism in Burma seem therefore to have been initiated by the Mahâyâna. This began to make itself felt, so far as we can ascertain from archaeological evidence, from about the sixth or tenth century from which time Mahâyâna gods and goddesses began to make their appearance. It is significant that not a single image, definitely identifiable as a Mahâyâna deity, may on stylistic grounds be used to date this period,<sup>1</sup> though Sanskrit seems to have been known in Burma earlier for at least a century, and as Foucaux already for about two or three centuries. But whether one agrees or not with the relative chronological position of the Śarvāstivāda and the Mahâyâna in Burma, the evidence of the epigraphic records points unmistakably to the fact (a) that Sanskrit Buddhism was introduced in Burma not later than the seventh century (b) that, as indicated by the abundant and continuous supply of terracotta votive tablets with legends in Sanskrit, written in Nagari characters, and representing Mahâyâna divinities (the Sanskrit Buddhism, the Mahâyâna with its allied cults, in par-

<sup>1</sup> It is true that there have been unearthed from the mass of stupas from a few villages in Java and Sumatra, tablets representing the Buddha flanked by the Bodhisattvas, Mahâyâna, and Arishtasattvas, but may aptly be dated before the sixth century. But it is well known that in Burma (and two Buddhistisms were never separated) in being exclusively to the Mahâyâna pantheon.

cular, seems to have received a new lease of life from about the sixth and tenth centuries and continued its career, as and around Pagan, till about the end of the fourteenth century, and (ii) that the original home of this Saṃghīra Śaśiloka of Burma was the North-Eastern province of India.

#### EVIDENCE OF SCULPTURE, PAINTING AND FURNITURE

##### IMAGES

Let us now consider how these conclusions are in a general way corroborated by a stylistic consideration of the sculptures, frescoes and paintings representing Mahāyāna deities, and by instances of intrinsic historical inter-relations between Eastern India and Burma.

At the very outset one must leave out of consideration the beautiful bronze image of *Aśokiteśvara* from Hinawasa which has been described in a previous chapter.<sup>1</sup> The facial type, the broad and bearded forehead, the deep eyes and the lion-like moustache are all strongly reminiscent of old Cambodian tradition, and it is not unlikely that the image was somehow carried over from an original home to the city of the Pyes.

First of all we have to consider the two faceless *Bodhi* images with Sanskrit inscriptions recovered from the ruins of Hinawasa, the one from *Kan-wet-thang-lee*, and the other from a mound at *Tyaggyi-lee*.<sup>2</sup> It has already been pointed out that stylistically both the images belong definitely to the late Gupta tradition of Eastern India of about the sixth and seventh centuries. The ruins of Hinawasa have yielded a number of stone sculptures and terracotta reliefs mostly representing Buddhist subjects and belonging to the same art tradition familiar to the Meghalaya region during the 6th-7th centuries. The same observation would hold good also with regard to the stone reliefs recovered from Hinawasa representing *Aśokiteśvara* and *Kaṭhaya* flanking the *Śaśiloka*. In connection with a similar relief found at the ruins of the *Saga-Pagala* (Hinawasa) Sir John Marshall states that the sculpture derives its style from

<sup>1</sup> *J. A. S. I.*, 1911-12 (LXXII) fig. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1927-28 (LXXVIII) and plates (with 1928-29, p. 102) pl. LI, B.

the famous Gupta tradition of Eastern India of about the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>1</sup>

But the two small images of Bodhisattvas, one in bronze and another in gold, recovered from the ruins at Yondok-lawa, Hinawa<sup>2</sup>, seem to belong to an entirely different art-condition, and associated at a later date. Artistically, they appear to differ themselves in the art of the Pala of Bihar and Bengal. A stylistic consideration of the few unadorned images of Bodhisattvas represented on terracotta tablets bearing Sanskrit *Mūrti* inscriptions also leads to the same conclusion. All of them, including the image of Jambhala and the large-sized unadorned Bodhisattva figure from the same locality, belong to what is called the Eastern School of art and can be dated on stylistic grounds from about the ninth to about the eleventh century.

#### Notes

I have elsewhere attempted an artistic examination of the sculptures and bronzes of Pagan.<sup>3</sup> It will suffice to repeat here the conclusions arrived at, and bring out their significance in connection with our present subject. The majority of the Mahāyāna images of Pagan belong, on the ground of style, to about the seventh and twelfth centuries, and the wall paintings to as late as the thirteenth (if the paintings of the Nandamaitta temple built in 1246). It follows, therefore, so far as can be judged from images and paintings extant, that the Mahāyāna with its chief cults remained an active force in Pagan, at least with a considerable section of her people, even after the Theravāda had become the state religion after the conquest of Thein in 1057, and it was during the reign/era of the Anawrahta dynasty (1044—1287) — those two centuries and a quarter of glorious and magnificent medieval kingdom — that the Mahāyāna and other cults of Northern Buddhism had their palmy days side by side with the much more popular Theravāda.

In nearly all the images, particularly in the bronze images of Lokanātha noted in citations from the *Annals of Pagan*, Pagan, in the stone image of Maitreya from the same dealer, in the image

<sup>1</sup> *ib.* *B. I. S. S.*, 1927—28, Art. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* *B. I. S. S.*, 1927—28, p. 102, pl. 611, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Rep.*, "Sculptures and Bronzes from Pagan", *J. I. C. A.*, July, 1924.

which I have identified as *Vajrasattva* in *pañ-paṇ*, in the same style representing *Aradhita* and *Mahaveya* flanking the *Buddha*, in the image of *Tiāl* from the *Kyōshai* town, there can only be noted a distinct physiognomic type and a particular method of treatment which, though slightly varying from one to the other, may at least be said to be connected with the well-known and contemporary art tradition of Eastern India that flourished during the centuries covered by the rule of the *Palas* and *Senas* of *Bengal* and *Behar*. Even the dress and ornaments and poses and attitudes have a very close affinity with those of the numerous examples in stone and bronze of the Eastern School.<sup>1</sup>

Still more convincing is the evidence of the wall-paintings which, from a stylistic point of view, can be classed roughly into two groups: one well-represented group plainly derives its style from those of contemporary miniature paintings of *Bengal*; the other group shows a very close affinity with contemporary *Nepalese* paintings and *Jain* paintings of *Western India*, both of which in their turn are closely related with the *Bengal MSS. paintings*.<sup>2</sup> This is indicated by a comparative study of the wall-paintings of the *Kalyāṅki*, the *Abepāṇa*, the *Thāntrān*, and similar temples, on the one hand, and those of the *Papa-tho-va* and *Shandamāta* temples on the other. A comparison of these two parallel traditions at *Bhara* with the miniatures of the *Jātanahara-jyōtishāra* MSS. in the *Cambridge University Library* (Add. 569) and in the library of the *Asiatic Society of Bengal* (A. 12) and contemporary *Nepalese* paintings reveals that they are very much alike in features and physiognomy of the personages they depict, in their poses and attitudes, dress and ornaments, and above all in their flat modelling of the contours of their body and in the close sweep of their lines. The conclusion is almost irresistible that the art-tradition of these wall-paintings of *Papa* was imported from contemporary *Bengal* and *Nepal*. Here in these countries was fostered, it is well-known, a school of painting that continued the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kumarich 'Pala and Sena Sculpture'* *Agnes Cole*.

<sup>2</sup> As all these are well-known to scholars it is not necessary to go into details. Reference may be made to *Alpan, 1922, no. 1, 'Verzeichnis "Ausstattung von guralen (tempeln) in Indien"*, *J. J. E. A.*, 1922, I, 2, *Kumarich 'Nepalese Paintings'*.

national tradition of the classical period during the 10<sup>th</sup>—17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

During the long period, Eastern India, comprising the countries of modern Bengal, Bihar and Nepal, was the stronghold of Hinduism and its allied cults partly associated with Tantrism. While Nilamdi was one of the best known centres in Bihar, no less important were Samastha, Haridola and other localities in Bengal where particularly the cults of Lakshmi and Tara flourished (cf. the publications of the Cambridge and Asiatic Society 1858). The Theravada was at a discount, and even Śaiviteism which in I-tsing's time was so widely prevalent, seems to have lost its influence.

The evidence of cultural relations between Burma and Eastern India during these centuries is almost overwhelming. The large number of terracotta votive tablets evidently carried over from Eastern India to Pagan and other localities, the Mahā bodhi temple of Pagan an unsuccessful imitation of the Bodhi-gyāh temple, the repeated missions of Pagan kings to the shrine of Bodhi-gyāh, and the accounts, contained in Burmese chronicles of Burmese merchants visiting the ports of Bengal, all bear testimony to the intimate relations that existed between Burma and Eastern India. One point of evidence the importance of which for the present subject has not yet been fully realised, may be detailed here. It is furnished by two accounts of the reign of Kyaukseika, Anawrahta and Narasita recorded in Burmese chronicles. These accounts narrate not well-known in Burma and are acted on the stage to this day<sup>1</sup>. Here it will suffice to say that while one refers to the celebrated love-romance of the Prince of Patalikāra with the only daughter of Kyaukseika, the other refers to the marriage of a Patalikāra princess by Narasita, the eventual murder of the princess by Narasita, and the consequent counter murder of Narasita by the desperate act by the king of Patalikāra to avenge. The identification of Patalikāra was for years a puzzle to scholars in Burma, though the identity of the kingdom with Pajalita in the Tiperah district (included in ancient Haridola) had been established

<sup>1</sup> Evidence may be made to Pagan. *History of Burma*, pp. 25, 26. *Survey History of Burma*, An. B. A. S. E., 1912, p. 24.



long ago.<sup>1</sup> This identification is also supported by the position of the inscriptions according to the Pagan characters and more finally established by the Mayanawet Copper-plate of Bannawakamath, Maratthaleya.<sup>2</sup> It proves quite more that for about a century (700-800) Pagan maintained a very intimate relation with Panchikera or Panchikera in ancient Maratthaleya which was reported as a centre of Mahayana Buddhism. The Mayanawet Copper-plate seems also to indicate that Panchikera (the Indian form of Pancham Panchikera) was a centre of worship of the Mahayana goddess Durgadevi as well as a seat of the Sakya cult. Besides having been well known for the worship of another Mahayana god, Lokeshwara.

We have been able to collect numerous indications regarding the time and the locality whence the Mahayana and its allied cults were introduced in Burma. This happened not later than the sixth or seventh century, possibly even earlier, it flourished in Pagan during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries when which period Pagan sank into decadence. Strange to say the period coincides almost exactly with the time when the Theravada was enjoying a new lease of life under the patronage of the kings of the Pagan dynasty. The Mahayana and its allied cults were in all probability, as we have seen above, introduced in Burma from the region that we have named Bihar and Bengal. This, again, is curious and interesting, for throughout these centuries, Pagan always kept her face turned towards Ceylon for guidance and inspiration in all matters relating to the newly introduced faith of the Theravada. The metropolis sent her masses of the religious, Uparajitas and Capetas and a host of others in numbers, to Ceylon to equip themselves for the great work of reformation in Burma through the power faith of the Theravada. It is significant that these monks did not go to Kalyaniya or Kalyaniya whence Burma must originally have received the Southern form of Buddhism. Evidently, these and other places in the eastern coastal region of South India had lost their importance as centres of Buddhist learning, and Ceylon had superseded them. This is confirmed by the Kalyani inscriptions of King Dharmapala which prove that Ceylon had by the later half

<sup>1</sup> *Tripitaka Paliyam* pp. 1-2

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Arch. Journ.* IX = pp. 161-62

of the eleventh century grows to so great importance as a Buddhist centre that scholars from such diverse and distant countries as Thailand, Cambodia and Katsouran flocked to that island to receive training and inspiration.

It is now easier for us to see how our conclusions as to the introduction and spread of the Mahāyāna and its allied sects agree in the main with the account of the spread of Buddhism as outlined by Thiruvāntha and supplemented by the testimony of Buddhagupta and the *Pag Joo Joo Jong*. The sum-total of what Thiruvāntha says in this connection is that it was during the rule of the Pillai, but more particularly, during that of the [here] Sonan of Bengal that the Mahāyāna made itself strongly felt in Fagan, Faga and Amhar, so much so that even the monks of Hinayāna received their training in these and other centres of the Koin land, and that it was from Bihar and Bengal that the religion was introduced there. This agrees remarkably well with the conclusions we have arrived at from a study of the archaeological remains.

## CONCLUSIONS

The domain of Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma may, for the sake of convenience, be divided in two divisions: (a) Lower Burma with its political centre at the Pyu capital of Prome and later on at the Talung capital of Thaton, (b) Upper Burma with its centre at Pagan. The earliest form of Sanskrit Buddhism is probably the Mahāvastuśāstra-sūtra which appears to have been introduced in the old Pyu capital from Magadha in Eastern India sometime before the seventh century. This is supported by the discovery of a number of Buddhist images exhibiting the later Gupta style and, some of them, inscribed with Sanskrit inscriptions in the Gupta-Stock script of Eastern India, and by the evidence of I-tsing as well. The Mahāvastuśāstra-sūtra seems thus to have flourished side by side with the Śāśvatīśāstra-sūtra, which had been introduced there evidently from the coast of Ceylon and the Telugu country, some time before the sixth century. It was undoubtedly the religion much more widely professed than either the Sarvāstivāda or Mahāyāna. This seems to have been the state of religion in ancient Prome till at least as late as the eighth and ninth centuries when Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to have made its appearance to add another factor to the already varied religious life of the capital. Gods and goddesses of the Mahāyāna pantheon must have been worshipped there till as late as the tenth century, this is determined not only by the paleography of the inscriptions on the numerous terracotta votive tablets found there, but also by the style of the few images of the Mahāyāna pantheon recovered from the ruins of the city. They further tend to prove that the Mahāyāna in Lower Burma was introduced from Eastern India, more definitely from the Magadhan region, the intercourse having been maintained by sea, which was probably the easiest route to reach the parts of present-day Burma.

But already by about the sixth century, if not earlier, ancient Pyram was losing its political importance as the race for power and supremacy the Talings were overthrowing the exhausted Pyas. The Talings seem to have had their centre at Thason, then just on the sea-shore where an active centre of Theravāda Buddhism was gradually growing up. By about the middle of the seventh century when Harsha was on the throne of Thason, the city swarmed with learned monks in a hundred monasteries whose libraries contained all the wisdom of the faith recorded in Pāli.<sup>1</sup> The Mahāyāna seems scarcely to have penetrated there; we have at least no evidence to that effect.

We learn a different story in respect to Pagan and other centres of Upper Burma. If Thawadda deserves any credit, the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism to Haroa has as far back as at least the fifth century, for, according to him, the Mahāyāna was first introduced in the Kola land by the pupils of Vasubandhu. How much time it continued to exist untroubledly? That finds an indirect confirmation in the statement of the Burmese chronicler, e.g. of the *Shwansan*, to the effect that the religion (Buddhism) gradually grew weak from the reign of king Chattrang (c. 500—525), founder of the city of Triparvati (= Thawadda near Pagan), and became there was no Pagan as yet, only the disciples of the Aśv kerts of Thawadda were generally adopted.<sup>2</sup> This seems to suggest that the cult of Aśv, originally a Mahāyāna cult, was already known there before the beginning of the sixth century. But the most flourishing period of the Mahāyāna and allied cults in Pagan and other centres of Upper Burma must have begun from the sixth century (from the reign of the Pāli king Tharapāla, according to Thawadda), and lasted until at least the end of the thirteenth. This

<sup>1</sup> Compare the accounts of the invasion and principal conquest of Thason by Anandavāra 504; in the *Shwansan* the *Shwansan*, the *Shālyāp* conquests and other Burmese chronicles. The concluded evidence seems to favour the supposition of a very flourishing condition of the Theravāda in the Talings region in the middle of the seventh century.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Burmese chronicler, Buddhism seems to be introduced in Haroa even during the life-time of the Buddha himself, and that it continued its growth till the cult of the Aśv (presumably a Mahāyāna cult) was introduced when the pure religion began to decline (in the opinion of some Thawadda chroniclers).

is testified to not only by *Tirumala* and the author of the *Pag Sam Jan Kavya*, but also by recent images of deities of the *Mahāyāna* and *Tantrayāna*, and by the no less important evidence furnished by a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions on terracotta votive tablets. As to the country from where these cults were introduced to Burma, all available evidence points to *Bihar* and *Bengal*, more particularly to *Bengal*, at least as respect of the later phases of the cults when they came to be associated with *Tantric* rites. The prevalence of *Tantrayāna* is proved by the cult of the *Arin*, but more definitely by the wall paintings of the *Pagan*-temples and the *Shandamatha*. Temples and one or two images in stone and bronze. According to *Tirumala* the *Mahāyāna* and *Kalacārayāna* were also known in *Pagan*; the introduction of the latter is proved by the numerous or *Khmer* texts in the monastic libraries of Upper Burma as late as the middle of the fifteenth century. All these evidently were introduced from *Bengal*, and perhaps also from *Bihar*, the intercourse between the two countries being maintained probably both by land and sea. A land route through *Assam* and *Manipur* was still known in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

According to *Tirumala*, *Mahāyāna* *Buddhism* and its allied cults existed in *Pagan* and *Arakan* as well, and the account of *Shandamatha's* travels seems to indicate that it was known also in *Tanasserim*. But, unfortunately we have no evidence from independent sources to verify their testimony, though there is nothing independently improbable in it.

It has already been pointed out that the flourishing period of the *Mahāyāna* and its allied cults coincides for the greater part with the golden period of the great *Theravāda* reformation (c. 500—c. 1300 A.D.). In fact, the *Theravāda* became the religion of the state and the people who gradually gave up their allegiance to other faiths, *Mahāyāna* *Buddhism* could hardly keep pace with the growing popularity of the new religion in which the people found a simpler and purer faith and soon it became a lost cause, though it still continued to attract a minor section of the people. The attitude of the *Theravāda* towards the *Mahāyāna* and its allied cults, except with the deprecatory cult of the *Arin*, seems to have been one of absolute tolerance. This is suggested by the existence of *Mahāyāna* and *Tantric* places of worship not very far from the

heart of the capital city, as well as by the lack of Mahayana images or what were presumably places of worship of the Theravādins, and, as already stated, also by the Nāgārjūna inscription of rough lines with regard to the Aras, the attitude of the court and people does not seem to have been very cruel and savage. Anarjūna's drive against them must have been only partially successful; the very fact that they had a strong centre with temples and monasteries put on the outskirts of the metropolis proves that they continued to maintain themselves and were tolerated by the people around. There is also evidence to show that their daily necessities of monastic life were attended to by the court and perhaps also by lay men.

Mahayana Buddhism and its allied cults in Pagan, when we see them in existence, were after all possessed by only a section of the people who, we may infer, had a well lodged organisation of their own, but the Theravāda being the much more popular and powerful religion could well afford to look at its vanquished rival with a confident smile. The two faiths seem to have lived side by side till at last the Theravāda, always with the support of the throne, was able to emerge completely triumphant and wipe out even the memory of its rival. But in the course of centuries of close neighbourhood, the Theravāda of Burma came to absorb some of the elements of its sister faith, and some of the gods of the Mahayana pantheon, e.g., Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, were even adopted by the Theravādins. This is perhaps why Theodorin says that in the Kola countries the "Mahāyāna and the Theravāda were not always distinguishable".



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## ERRATA

Page	g	Line	sg	for	should	read	should
10	10	11	---		Malytynat	---	Malytynat.
10	10	1	---		narvynat	---	narvynat.
10	10	2	---		Iska	---	Iskan
10	10	17	---		Therovka	---	Therovka.
10	10	1	---		En	---	En
10	10	13	---		Shuvovain	---	Shuvovain
10	10	6	---		KovchukovAM	---	KovchukovAM
10	10	47	---		Mrya	---	Mrya
10	10	16	---		Malyayr	---	Malyayr
10	10	11	---		Malyari	---	Malyari
10	10	7	---		Mu	---	MU
10	10	24	---		Arvika	---	Arvika.
10	10	20	---		Tevan	---	Tevan
10	10	3	---		Dipalimn	---	Dipalimn.
10	10	7	---		polovni	---	polovni
10	10	4	---		vyl	---	vyls
10	10	10	---		vinka-vodka	---	vinka-vodka
10	10	16	---		Yar	---	Yar
10	10	24	---		Shuvovain	---	Shuvovain
10	10	23	---		vovchik	---	vovchik
10	10	24	---		vodka	---	vodka
10	10	3	---		prichinitsip	---	prichinitsiply
10	10	20	---		Shuvovain	---	Shuvovain
10	10	20	---		J d	---	J d J d
10	10	6	---		Prichinitsiplyev	---	Prichinitsiplyev.
10	10	16	---		Yaps	---	Yaps
10	10	20	---		Prichinitsip	---	Prichinitsip.
10	10	22	---		En	---	En
10	10	13	---		Shuvovain	---	Shuvovain
10	10	13	---		prichinitsip	---	prichinitsip

## DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

- FIG. 1. *Malpais*. *Troms*, *Norway*. For description, see p. 43, & 19th cent. A.D. A wrong identification has been suggested in the text. Indeed, the figure on the cover is not *Scaphis*, but *Alysiops*, and hence the name must be one of *Malpais*.

Note the facial physiognomy, especially the curve of the eye, and the rather heavy arching of the nose, which are all unlike what have up to now been found in *Troms* but are not uncommon in old *Cambohia*, etc. It is not impossible that the image was really carried over from some place in the old *Siola* colony of *Eastia*.

- .. 2. *Archidolores* and *Mastops* feeding the *Euclia*. *Troms*. *Pages* 2, 11-12th cent. For description, see p. 44, the descriptions of similar representations of *Archidolores* and *Mastops* feeding the *Euclia*, see pp. 43-45. Dr. H. J. *Evans*, relying on finds from *Java*, suggested to me that they may also represent *Archidolores* and *Trojops*.

Note the *Archidolores* flanked by two standing figures which resemble the ones at *Senak*, but the *Euclia* is depicted in *Siola*-mode flanking the ones at *Senak*.

- .. 3. *Archidolores*. *Troms*. *Pages* 2, 11-12th cent. For description, see p. 44.

- .. 4. *Thal*. *Troms*. *Pages* 2, 11-12th cent. For description, see p. 45.

Eight *Archidolores* gone, two arms broken, but retained *Euclia*, *Arjops*, *Malpais*.

- No. 6. *Paludicola* Matsuya. *Exuvia* *Thyridicola*. Pages 1-10-11th cent.

Mounted on *Ichneumon*; right head in oblique-ventral, left resting on a tube, two *sigphidula* above one on two sides in *delphidolacris* forming a frame as it were. The base of tube into a web-like covering of long and curly hairs. The lower garment is fixed tight to the body while a web diagonally passes round the upper part of the body.

- .. 7. *Lobocampa* Exuvia. Pages 1-10-11th cent. For description, see p. 48

- .. 8. *Lobocampa* Exuvia. Pages 1-11-12th cent. For description, see p. 48

For another view of what I consider to be a representative of *Lobocampa*, see the *E. J. S. L.*, 1880 24, Part Two, p. 101 (102) *Monocampa* in the writing on slight characters of about the 11-12th cent., according to the *British Museum*.

- .. 9. *Exuvia*, probably *Matsuya*. Well-preserved. *Staphylinus* *trough*, *Muscardina*, Pages 1-10-11th cent.

Standing in slight oblique, rather ornamented: *webbed*, *legs*, *hairs*, *colony*, *webbed*, *colony*, *pruned* or *cuticularized* skin. Right head hanging and holding in delicate grasp a staff of *sigphidula* hairs, left head in oblique-ventral.

- .. 10. *Exuvia*, probably *Matsuya*. Well-preserved. A small sample. Pages 1-10-11th cent.

Standing in slight oblique, rather ornamented: *webbed*, *legs*, *colony*, *hairs*, *webbed*, *colony*, *pruned* skin. Right head in oblique-ventral, left head hanging and holding in delicate grasp a staff of *sigphidula* hairs.

- .. 11. *Exuvia*. Well-preserved. *Staphylinus* *trough*, *Muscardina*, Pages 1-10-11th cent.

Standing on low pedestal. Ornamental necklets, triplets, hairs, kuytas, collars, necklets, printed skirt. Bands on the outside of necking-offings, evidently to the Pahlis on the exterior.

- FIG. 11. *Bell-shaped*. Wall-painting. Pigeon-hole on temple. Minastika, Pages. v. 142b cont.

Standing on slight tribhanga, on low pedestal; hair round head, ornaments: necklets, hairs, kuytas, collars, necklets, printed skirt. Right hand in *varidhyan-mudra*, left hand flexed upwards to grasp a supporting staff. Two *shaktis* sloping on two legs.

12. *Bell-shaped*, probably *Arakshakara*. Wall-painting. Pigeon-hole on temple, Minastika, Pages. v. 142b cont.

Standing on slight tribhanga; two hands holding attributes that can hardly be recognized, of them two are, however, held before the chest in *dharmadra-mudra*, ornaments: necklets, hairs, kuytas, collars, necklets, *nyasa*, printed skirt. Two female figures, probably *shaktis*, seated with tilted heads on two sides.

13. *Bell-shaped* with *shaktis*. Wall-painting. Pigeon-hole on temple, Minastika, Pages. v. 142b cont.

Standing in tribhanga with two *shaktis* sloping on two sides; stily ornamented as usual; also see photographs of the Archaeological Survey of Burma, Nos. 54,0211 of 1899-00, 54,0208 of 1899-00, 54,0209 of 1899-00, and 54,0212 of 1900-00.

14. *Bell-shaped*, perhaps *Mahatmya* *Wajrasat* or *Lakshmi*. Wall-painting. Nandamatta temple, Minastika, Pages v. 142b cont. For description, see pp. 52-53.

Note the round pediments in front when as usual on the point of the trunk of the necks, depicted below (not reproduced) as in the tradition of the Eastern School of Art of Bengal and Bihar, to be seen on both sides of the main figure.

FIG. 12. Bodhisattva and deity in embrace. Wall painting, Sandaunata temple, Monywa, Pegu. c. 14th cent.

Both standing in slight straddle and with rounded Bodhisattva on right embracing deity with left hand, and deity on left embracing Bodhisattva with right hand. Right hand of Bodhisattva is raised upwards while the left of deity is placed on the stretched-out arm of Bodhisattva. Both figures are richly ornamented and wear pointed shoes. A lotus figure stands on the right of Bodhisattva.

.. 13. Wall-painting (with a copy) on the western portion of the south wall of the Abayadana temple, Myingon, Pegu. c. 14th cent. For description, see pp. 116-17; see also *Ar. J. A. S. I.*, 1920-22, pp. 121-22.

Upper part: on the right side of the empty niche is an ornamented and crowned figure standing in slight straddle, and holding a ring in the right hand and what seems to be more like a dagger than a sword in the left. On the left side is a smaller figure holding a trident in the right and a ring in the left hand. They are probably simply deities.

The middle band shows six scenes which are difficult to identify. They seem to allude to some stories, and some of them are supposed to be Thiruk in character.

Lower part: the two upper figures seated in meditation are undoubtedly Anantadevara and Mahipati respectively. The two figures seated below may tentatively be identified as Hantha or Hanthaya and Haya respectively. The former holds a shield on the right and what seems to be a trident in the left. The latter holds a club on the right and a sword on the left. Both wear what seems to be felt boots. For the representations of another deity with lotus, see *Ar. J. A. S. I.*, 1920-22, pl. 114b; this also comes from the same Abayadana temple.

- FIG. 17. *Lakshmi*. Wall-painting. *Ajayapura* temple, Mysore. Pages + 116 cont. For description, see p. 10.
- .. 18. *Harapriya*. Wall-painting. *Ajayapura* temple, Mysore. Pages + 116 cont. For description, see pp. 45-46.
- .. 19. *Sakti*. Wall-painting (redish copy). *Ajayapura* temple, Mysore. Pages + 116 cont.
- Orbitals seated in palm-branch on lotus seat; six hands, two on two sides in round-rod, one on the right in straight-rod, others in round-rod. Ornaments: necklace, arms, bangles, earring, necklet, bracelet, and graded skirt.
- .. 20. Probably *Tara*. Wall-painting (redish copy). *Ajayapura* temple, Mysore. Pages + 116 cont.
- Orbitals seated on a lotus seat in left-hand, two hands as if in prayer, to the right close a staff with lotus in left hand; pearls and ornaments, graded bodice and skirt.
- .. 21. *Lakshmi*. Wall-painting (redish copy). *Ajayapura* temple, Mysore. Pages + 116 cont.
- Crowned and circled directly seated in left-hand on a lotus seat. Right hand in round-rod and left in straight-rod; to the left close a lotus stalk, round ornaments; flanked by two circled and ornamented divinities.
- .. 22. *Siva* riding the bull *Nandi*. Wall-painting. *Ajayapura* temple, Mysore. Pages + 116 cont. For description, see p. 10, ca. 3.
- .. 23. *Tanaka* riding her steed the *ketaka*. Wall-painting. *Ajayapura* temple, Mysore. Pages + 116 cont. For description, see p. 10, ca. 3.
- .. 24. Probably *Tanaka* riding her steed *Gurupa*. Wall-painting (redish copy). *Ajayapura* temple, Mysore. Pages + 116 cont.

Thaps kneeling, with hands lifted probably in adoration in the Dodhia in the museum. Note the Garuda holding a pair of snakes in his hands and carrying the basket in his hands, note also the pile in one of the left hands of Thaps and an indistinct object in one of his right.

FIG. 23. Three-headed Buddhist sitting on throne, the lowest. Wall painting (British copy) *Aryadana temple, Mysore*, *Figurae* 1, 11th cent.

.. 24. *Ibid.* Wall painting. *Aryadana temple, Mysore*, *Figurae* 1 11th cent. For description, see p. 55, where I suggested a wrong identification. The attribution of *Ibid.*, no. 1, the *gati-siddha*, *Harshavarma*, and the *tribhava* are too clear to be missed.

For other Buddhist and representations in the *Aryadana*, see *in J. A. S. J.*, 1933-34, p. 146.

For description of some of the mural paintings in the *Aryadana* and *Embryokid* temples, *Mysore*, *Figurae* representing gods and goddesses of Southern Buddhism and also of *Yakshas*, see *in J. A. S. J.*, 1933-34, pp. 131-34.

PLATES











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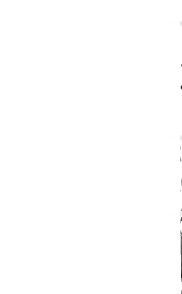
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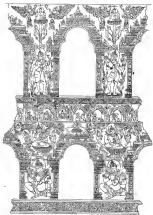


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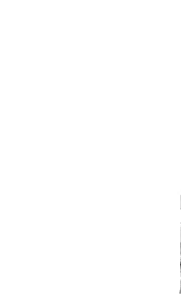




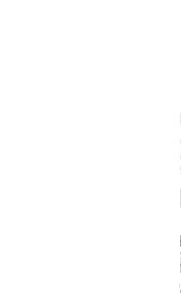














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